

**PHILANGLUS;**  
**Som sober Inspections**

Made into the

**CARIAGE and CONSULTS**  
**Of the *Late-long Parlement*;**  
Whereby occasion is taken to speak  
of **PARLEMENTS** in  
former Times, &c.

With som Reflexes upon Govern-  
ment in general.

With som Prophetic Paragraffs.

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The fourth Edition with a Supplement of divers  
signal passages which the other three had not.

By *Jam. Howell* Esq;

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*Cupio , ut rectè capiar.*

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*London*, Printed by *T. L.* for *W. Palmer*, at the  
*Palm Tree* neer *St. Dunstons Church* in *Fleet-*  
*street*, 1660.

PHILADELPHIA

Some for the Inscriptions

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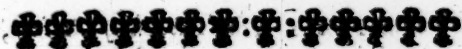
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BIBLIOTOLA  
Ad  
LECTOREM.

Ut Mare nil nisi *Aque*, Cælum nihil est nisi *Stellæ*,  
Sic est iste *Liber* nil nisi *Materia*.

---

Some Prophetic Paragraffs taken  
out of the Voc: Forest. 1638.

**B** Ut in Druina such is the crosse-  
grain humor of the Underwoods  
(which are more tough there than  
in other places) that they use to clash their  
Branches, and make a noise still at the  
present Government both of Church and  
State, thinking themselves capable to discern  
any Solacism, or the least mote in the Poli-  
tical Body, and so fall a jorging within their  
shallow

*Shallow Fancies New Models of Ruling,*  
*which being applyed, and cast into the tru*  
*mould of Prudence, use to prove meer Im-*  
*pertinences, Chymeras, and Absurdities.*

Another.

*Such is the Shallow Capacity, or rather*  
*Insulstiy of the Common Peeple, that they are*  
*seldom or never contented with the present*  
*state of Things, And as they stand gaping*  
*after a Melioration, and new Modes of Go-*  
*vernment, they fight, and fool themselves un-*  
*aware's into Confusion; and Slavery, whereby*  
*they bring themselves oftentimes from under a*  
*Golden Scepter to be under an Iron*  
*Rodd.*

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The present Case of  
**ENGLAND**

Stated in short.

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O England

*Thy King A lasting Peace will  
bring ;*

**An EVERLASTING  
WARR No King.**



THE

OF THE

ENGLAND

AND

Wales

AND

WATER

OF THE

OF THE

TO THE  
Knowing READER,

Touching

The *Method* of this Discours.

**H**ere are various ways for  
the conveyance of knowledge  
to the understanding, and to  
distill it by degrees into the cells of  
human brain; It may be done either  
by a downright Narration, and  
continued Discours; Or by Alle-  
gories, Emblems, and Parables;  
Or by way of Dialog, Interlocu-  
tions, and Conference; The first,  
is the easiest, and most usual way;  
The second is the most Ingenious  
and difficult; The last is the most  
familiar

To the Reader.

familiar and satisfactory; When one doth not only inform, but remove, and answer such emergent objections and queries that may intervene all along in the pursuit of the matter.

It is the mode, and method of this Treatise, which, discoursing of the affairs of England, proceeds by way of Colloquy 'twixt Philanglus and Polyander: The first a good Patriot, and great lover of the English; The other a person who had seen much of the world abroad, and studyed men, as both their names do intimate.

*Conveniunt Rebus Nomina sæpe suis.*

J. H.

## The variety of Simples that go to make up this small Compound.

**T**HE advantage of Dialogue discours in the Preface.

*A barbarous thing to open Letters, and worse then Burglary.*

*Of Governments, whereof Monarchy is best, and next resembling that of Heaven.*

*Aristotle inconstant to himself where he writes of Governments, and full of contradiction as well as confusion, with an Apology for him in that point.*

*The policy of France is to keep the people poor, and why.*

*Of Stratocracy, or Governing by an Army.*

*The long Parlement seizeth upon the Kings Sword and Scepter, viz. the Militia, and Legislative power.*

*The manner of French Parlements, or Assembly of the three Estates, as also of Scots Parlements, and Irish.*

*The Originall Writ, and primitive institution of English Parlements.*

*The King and his Peers alone is properly the great Councell of the land, to which purpose divers Records and Instances are produc'd.*

*The Commoners were never Co-councillors with the Peers, but call'd only ad consentiendum, and the Peers ad consulendum, whereof sundry authentic examples are urg'd.*

*The King cannot be compell'd, but directed only.*

*In*

*In former Ages the Kings of England us'd to govern by their privy Councell only, and in extraordinary cases by a Parleмент of Peers, among whom they summon'd whom they pleas'd.*

*Sir Walter Raleigh saith that the House of Commons, and Magna Charta, had but obscure or rather forced births, being sprung from Usurpers.*

*The K. of Eng. us'd to impose public taxes by their privy Councel alone, whereof examples are produc'd.*

*The modesty of the House of Commons in former times not to meddle with high matters of State specially forren, or of Peace and Warr, whereof sundry instances are urg'd.*

*Of the true duty of a Lower House-man.*

*A Solæcism in the English Government, that in the House of Commons the Burgeses are more in number then the Knights of Shires, and the reasons why.*

*Corporations incompatible with Monarchy, whereby occasion is taken to speak of the City of London.*

*The Legislative and supreme power is solely in the King, the consultative in the Peers, with reasons and divers examples why.*

*Sundry Records how the King and his privy Councel us'd to determin the highest causes.*

*Mighty errors committed by Parlements, whereof divers instances old and new are produc'd.*

*The freedom from Arrests the only priviledge of the Commons House according to Sir Edward Coke.*

*The long Parleмент the greatest Idol that ever was.*

*The first Petition that ever was presented to the House of Commons was but in Henry the seventh's time.*

*Di.*



*Divers examples, how the House of Commons was  
curb'd in Queen Elizabeths time, and their  
members imprison'd.*

*There can be no mixt Committee of Lords and Com-  
mons without the Kings permission.*

*Subsidies rais'd before ever there was a House of  
Commons.*

*Of the Scots, how they were the first Incendiaries  
and authors of all the late revolutions in the three  
Kingdoms.*

*The union with Scotland rather a disadvantage to  
England then a benefit.*

*Of the expedition to Berwick, and the dishonorable  
pacification made with the Scots.*

*Of the Ship-money, and what reasons the King had  
to think it legall. Of the short Parlement.*

*Of the long-liv'd Parlement.*

*Of the popular insolencies, and base affronts which  
the long Parlement conniv'd at.*

*Of the Earl of Strafford, his parts and his imper-  
fections.*

*The Parlement cause the King to break his word  
with the Spaniard, and his Oath unto his peeple.*

*The Crown and Scepter but bables without the  
Sword, &c.*

*The keeping the King out of Hull, and the inter-  
diction of Trade to Newcastle, the first begin-  
ning of the late civil Warrs.*

*The King was denyed the ordinary benefit of the  
Law against the five members.*

*The Prince like to be surpriz'd.*

*The Presbyterians the chief firebrands of all the  
late confusions, &c.*

*The*

*The horrid confusion in Religion commo'd at by the  
Parlement.*

*The high exorbitant, and monstrous proposals of the  
long Parlement to their King.*

*The tender and patheticall Letter of the King to his  
long Parlement, all of his own hand-writing.*

*Of Edg-hill or Kinton field battail, &c.*

*The huge advantages the long Parlement had of the  
King, having the Sea, the Scot, and the City on  
their side. The horrid and hateful ingratitude  
of the Scots to their Native King.*

*A glorious exploit in the L Protector to subdue the  
Scot, &c.*

*Sundry sorts of visible Judgments fallen in a heap  
upon the Scots Nation, &c.*

*The sundry wayes of cunning, and artifices the long  
Parlement took to rack and rend money, &c.*

*How basely the publique Faith of the Nation was  
abus'd by the long Parlement.*

*Of the Dutch Devil the Excise, and the Scots  
Covenant, &c.*

*The Act of Continuance illegal of it self.*

*The horrible insolences of the late long Parlement.*

*An abstract of the Lo. Cravens, and Sr J. Stawells  
case, the hard measure & horrid injustice they had.*

*Of the ruthfull condition of S. Pauls Church, with  
some motifs for preserving it from falling.*

*The firmeſt way of Government.*

*A relation of Edge-hill battail.*

*The hard measure, and monstrous injustice done unto  
the Farmers of the Custom-house, with Mrs. Sey-  
mers case. An Apology.*

FINIS.



Some Inspections made  
into the Carriage and Con-  
sults of the late long  
**PARLEMENT, &c.**

In a Colloquy 'twixt *Philanglus*  
and *Polyander*.

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*Philanglus.*

*Gentle Sir,*



Ow glad am I to see you so well  
return'd to *England* after so long  
a separation, having breath'd air  
under so many differing Climes,  
convers'd with Nations of so many diffe-  
ring complexions, and made so many hazar-  
dous voyages and itinerations both by land  
and Seas, as I understand you have.

B

*Polyander.*

*Polyander.*

'Tis true, there is a kinde of hazard that hovers over our heads wheresoever we pass in this transitory incertain world, the *Morning* cannot presage what the evening may produce, some odd thing may happen 'twixt the cup and the lip; but the danger of forrein travel, or *peregrination*, is nothing so great as 'tis commonly apprehended; one may travel through all *Europe* with as much security and accommodation as in any part of *England*; one may goe from *Calis* to *Constantinople*, as safely as from *Bristol* to *Berwick*; one may passe from *Vienna* to *Venice*, from *Paris* to *Prague*, from *Madrid* to *Magdenburgh*, as securely as from *London* to *Lancaster*, or from *Saint Davids head* to *Dover*; 'Tis true, that before *Negotiation* and *Commerce* made mankind more communicable, it was an uncouth thing to travel, or make removes far from home; In this Island, not an age since, if one were to make a journey from *Wales* to *London*, much more from *London* to *France*, it was usual for him to make his last Will; but now the world growing still more populous, and people more sociable by *mutual traffique*, and *knowledge of languages*, the case is altered; In my whole ten years travel, I thank my Creator, I never rancounterd  
any

any danger or difficulty, but I might have met with the like in *England*; For if one observes these three small Imperatifs, *Audi, cerne, tace*, hear, see, and be silent, he need no other passeport to travel ore the world; But dear Sir, now that I am return'd to breath *English* air again, I hold it one of the best welcomes to finde *you* so well after so long an absence, and I embrace you with both my arms, giving you a thousand thanks for the fair respects, and *litteral* correspondence you kept with me while I wandered abroad, for it was my greatest comfort.

*Philanglus.*

Sir, you teach me what I should say to *you* in this point, but truly you should have had a more frequent account of matters here, but that of late years it hath been usual to intercept and break up *letters*, which is a baser kinde of *burglary* then to break into ones *house* or *chamber*; for this may be a plundering only of some outward pelf, or baggage of fortune, but he who breaks open ones *Letters*, which are the Ideas of the minde (as is spoken elsewhere) may be said to rifle the very brain, and rob one of his most precious thoughts, and secret't possessions: But Sir, now that I have the happinesse to re-enjoy

you, what do they say abroad of these late revolutions in *England*?

*Polyander.*

They say that the *English* are a sturdy, terrible and stout people, that the power and wealth of this Island was never discovered so much before both by Land and Sea, that the true stroke of governing this Nation was never hit upon till now; *Politicians* new and old have beaten their brains, and shot at rovers in writing of divers sorts of Governments; but the wisest of them concur in this opinion, that there is no Government more resembling Heaven, and more durable upon Earth, or that hath any certain principles, but *Monarchy*, and such a Monarchy that hath an actual visible Military strength to support it self, and not only to protect, but to awe the people. *Aristotle* in his *Politicks* speaks of sundry species of Governments, he writes of, *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, *Oligarchy*, and *Stratocracy*, (as the *Greek* tongue hath a faculty above all others in compounding names for things; ) but he is irresolute to determine what *Aristocracies* are truly perfect, he hath only this one positive assertion, that *Aristocracy* allows no *Artificer* to be a *Citizen* or *Councillor*; Much of his discourse  
is

is of the first Founders of Common-wealths, as *Phaleas* of the *Chalcedonian*, *Hippodamas* of the *Milesian*, *Lycurgus* of the *Lacedemonian*, *Minos* of the *Cretan*, and *Solon* of the *Athenian*; then he proceeds to correct the errors of Common-wealths before he tells us what a *Common-wealth* is, which is (under favour) an irregularity in method: In his first book he speaks only of the parts of a City, or Common-weal, but he tells us not what they are till he comes to his *third* Book, where in handling the kinds of Government in general, he flies backward and forward in a disorderly way; but when he comes to treat of particular forms, he is full of contradiction and confusion; in some places he seems to deny any natural right and publick interest, (much more any *underived Majesty*) in the people, whom he saith to be little *inferiour to beasts*; whereas elsewhere he affordeth a liberty to every City, to set up either by force or cunning what Government they please, which in effect is to allow men to doe what they list if they be able: But at last he confesses that after *Kings* were given over in *Greece*, Common-wealths were made of *Them* who waged war, and that all power was summ'd up in the Govern-

ment of an *Army*, which is pure *Stratocracy*, or Military Government.

*Philanglus.*

We cannot blame this great Philosopher to rove herein up and down, it being impossible for any humane brain to prescribe any certain and infallible universal rules of Government that may quadrat with the nature of all climes, and be applicable to the humours of all people; All other *Arts and Sciences* have *apodictical*, and undeniable *principles*, but the *Art of Government* hath no such *Maximes*; the reason is the various dispositions of people, and a thousand sorts of contingencies that attend worldly affairs; It is, you better know then I, one of the main principles of policy in *France* to keep the *peasant* (which is the grosse of the people) still indigent and poor, because they are of such a volatill instable nature that if they were rich and fed high, *wealth* and *wantonnesse* would make them ever and anon to be kicking against Government, and crying out for a change, whereas this principle of policy is held to be a paradox in *Spain*, and other Countreys. Some Nations are so fiery mouth'd, that they must be rid with a *Bit*, if not a *Martinghal*, but a *Snaffle* will serve others: nor are the same



same laws fit for the *Continent*, that are proper for an *Island*, nor those of a *Mari-tim Continent* fit for a *Mediterranean Coun-try*.

*Polyander.*

I concur with you there is no *Art* so difficult, and fuller of incertainties, as *Hominem homini imperare*, as the *art for man to govern man*, which made one of the deepest *Statesmen* these modern times afforded to confess, that though he had served so many *Apprentisships*, and been a *Journeyman* so long in this *Art*, and reputed a *Master*, yet he found himself still a *Novice* therein: For State affairs, as all sublunary things, are subject to alteration, the *wisdome* of one day may be the *foolishnesse* of another, and the week following may be *Schoolmi-stresse* to the week before in point of *ex-perience*, which is the great *Looking-glasie* of *Wisdome*, and *Policy*.

Therefore whereas *Aristotle* useth to be constant to himself in all other *Sciences* while he displays the operations and works of *Nature*, when he comes to treat of *humane government*, he is not only often at a losse, and inconstant to himself, but he involves both himself and the Reader in ambiguities,

*Philanglus.*

I am of opinion that there is in policy but one true Universal Maxime, which is, as you said before, to *have alwayes a standing visible effectif power in being*, as well to *preserve*, as to *curb* a people; and it is very fitting they should pay for their protection, it being a Rule all the world over, and grounded upon good reason, *Defend me, and spend me.*

*Polyander.*

It is so indeed every where; how willing is our confederat the *Hollander*, so he be protected in his trade, to part with any thing, to pay tolls for what he hath either for back or belly; he is content to pay for all beasts sold in the Market the twelfth part for *Excise*, six shillings upon every Tun of Beer, two stivers a week for every milch Cow, six pence upon every bushel of Wheat, and so upon all other commodities: The States of *Italy* do more, in *Florence*, and the Republick of *Venice*, (which hath continued longest, and with least change in point of Government of any Country upon earth) ther's not a grain of Corn, not a glasseful of Wine, not a drop of Oyl, together with Egges, Birds, Beasts, Fish, Fowl, yea Grasse, Salt, and Sallets, but pay a *gabell* for the common defence,  
 nay

may the *Courtisans* cannot make use of their *own*, but they must contribute to maintain twelve Gallies.

But Sir, now that I have been absent so long, I pray be pleased to tell me something of the proceedings of the late *long* Parliament, and of this mighty revolution; for I find such a kind of *metamorphosis*, or *transposition* of all things in point of Government, that *England* may be said to be but the *Anagram* of what she was.

*Philanglus.*

There is a *periodical* Fate, that hangs over all Governments, but this of *England* may be said to have come to its *Tropique*, to a posture of turning; The people extremely *long'd* for a Parliament, and they had a *long* Parliament, for it lasted longer then all the Parlements that ever were in *England* since the first institution of Parlements, put them all together; there was never such an *Idol* upon earth as that Parliament, for people thought there was an inerring spirit tyed to the Speakers chair, they pinn'd their salvation upon it, it was held blasphemy, and a sin against the holy Ghost to speak against it, nay some preach'd that that blessed Parliament was as necessary for our *Reformation*, as the coming of *Christ* was for our *Redemption*; such a sottish kind of infatuation

infatuation had seiz'd upon some kind of people.

*Polyander.*

But what did that Parleмент do tending to the publick Reformation?

*Philanglus.*

What did they *doe*? They were like to *undo* all things, had they sate longer, which they had done till domesday, had they been let alone, and their Posteriors had never asked; 'Tis true, they were somewhat modest at first, but by the lenity of a credulous easie King, they did afterwards monstrous things. They assumed to themselves all the Regalia's of the Crown, they seiz'd upon Sword, Great Seal, and Sovereignty, upon the Militia, and all the Marks of Majesty, nay they did arrogate to themselves the *Legislative* and Supreme power, &c.

*Polyander.*

But doth not the *Supreme Power* reside in the *English* Parleмент, which is an Epitome and Representative of the whole Nation?

*Philanglus.*

I will not resolve you in that, till I acquaint you with the pedigree, and primitive institution of Parlement, which I will endeavour to doe as succinctly as I can, but in regard that our Parlement was  
erected

erected at first in imitation of the Assembly of the three Estates in *France*, in which Government you are so well vers'd, I pray do me the favour as give me a touch of the mode of *France* in those public Assemblies, and then I shall apply my self to satisfie you touching *English, Irish, and Scots* Parlements, having in some measure studied the case.

*Polyander.*

In *France* the Kings Writ goeth to the Bayliffs, Seneschals or Stewards of liberties, who issue out warrants to all such as have fees and lands within their Liberties, as also to all Towns, requiring all such as have any complaints, to meet in the principall City, there to choose Delegates in the name of the Province to be present at the generall Assembly. Being met at the principal City of the Bayliwick, the Kings Writ is read, and so the Delegates are elected and sworn; Then they consult what is to be complained of, and fit to be proposed to the King, whereof there is an Index or Catalogue made, which is delivered to the Delegates to carry to the General Assembly; All the Bayliwicks are divided to twelve Classes; but to avoid confusion, and to the end there may not be too great a delay in the Assembly by gathering  
of

of the voyces or suffrages, every Classis compiles a Brief, or Book of the grievances and demands of all the Bayliwicks within that Classis, then these Classis at the Assembly compose one general Book of the grievances and demands of the whole Kingdome. This being the order of the proceeding of the Comminalty or *third Estate*, the like order is observed by the *Clergy* and *Nobility* : so when the three books or *Cahiers* (as they call them) for the three Estates are perfected, then they present them to the King by their Presidents in the open great Assembly.

The first who presents the *Cahiers* is the President of the *Clergy*, who begins his Harang or Oration on his knees, but at the Kings command he stands up, & so proceeds bare-headed ; The President for the *Nobility* speaks next in the like manner ; But the President for the *Commons* begins and ends his Oration on his knees : whilst the President of the *Clergy* speaks, the rest of that order rise up and stand bare, till they are bid by the King to sit down, and be covered ; and so the like for the *Nobility* ; but whilst the President for the Comminalty speaks, the rest are neither bid to sit, or to be covered. The grievances and demands being thus all delivered at once, and left to the King and his

*Privy*

*Privy Council* without further debate or expence of time, the *General Assembly* of the three Estates enderth, expecting afterwards such a redresse to their grievances, as the King and his Council shall think fit.

*Philanglus.*

These proceedings of *France* are not much unlike the ancient usage of this Kingdome for many ages, when all Laws were nothing else but the Kings answers to the Petitions presented to him, and his Council, as is apparent by many old Statutes, and the confession of *Sir Edward Coke*; And now to acquit my self of my former engagement unto you, I will impart unto you the manner and power of the Parlements of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; I confesse 'tis more properly the business of a *Lawyer*, which I am none, otherwise then what nature hath made me; so, every man is a *Lawyer*, and a *Logitian* also (who was the first *Lawyer*) as he is born the child of *reason*, for Law and Logic are meerly founded upon reason; This discursive faculty of Reason comes with us into the world accompanied with certain general notions, and natural principles, to distinguish right from wrong, and falsehood from truth.

But

But before I come to the *English* Parle-  
ment, a word or two of the Parlements  
of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

In *Scotland* about three weeks before the  
Parlement begins, Proclamation is made  
throughout the Kingdome, to deliver  
unto the Kings Clerk or Master of the  
Rols, all bills to be exhibited that Sessi-  
ons, then are they brought to the King,  
and perused by him; and only such as  
he allows are put in the Chancelors  
hand to be proponed in Parlement, and  
no others; and if any man in Parle-  
ment speak of any other matter then is  
formerly allowed by the King, the Chan-  
celor tels him there is no such bill allow-  
ed by the King; When they have passed  
them for laws, they are presented to the  
King, who with the Scepter, put into his  
hand by the Chancelor, ratifies them, but  
if there be any thing the King mislikes they  
raze it out before.

The Parlement in *Ireland* is after this  
manner. No Parlement is to be held but  
at such a season as the Kings Deputy there  
doth certifie the King under the Great  
Seal of the Land of the causes, considera-  
tions and necessity of a Parlement; The  
causes being approved of by the King, a  
Licence is sent under the broad Seal of  
*England*



*England* to summon a Parlement in *Ireland*, provided that all such bills that shall be proposed there in Parliament be first transmitted hither under the great Seal of that Kingdome, and having received allowance and approbation here, they shall be put under the Great Seal of this Kingdome, and so return'd thither to be passed in that Parlement; this was called *Poinings Act* in the time of King *Philip* and *Mary*.

Having thus given a concise account of the usage of Parlement in our neighbour Kingdoms, I will now passe to that of *England*.

Every *Freeholder* who hath a voyce in the election of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses to sit in Parlement, ought to know well, and consider with what power he trusts those whom he chooseth, in regard the power of the House of Commons is derived from that trust: Now that which gives authority for the *Freeholders* to make their election, is the *Kings Writ* directed to the Sherif of the County, in which is expressed not only the Sheriffs duty in point of summoning, but the Writ contains also the duty and power of such Knights, and Burgeses that shall be elected; therefore to know

know the full extent of the power of Parleмент, you must have an eye, and observe well the words of the Writ, for the *Freeholders* cannot transfer a greater power then is compriz'd in the Writ to those that they appoint their servants in Parleмент. The Writ being us'd to be in *Latin*, few *Freeholders*, God wor, understood it, or knew what they did; I will faithfully render the said Writ to you in *English*.

The King to the Vicount or Sherif  
Greeting.

**W** Hereas by the advice, and assent of our Councel, for certain arduous and urgent affairs concerning us, the State, and defence of our Kingdom of England, and the Anglican Church; We have ordain'd a certain Parleмент of ours to be held at our City of the day of next ensuing, and there to have conference, and to treat with the Prelats, Great men, and Peers of our said Kingdom; We command and strictly enjoin you, that making Proclamation at the next County Court after the receipt of this our Writ, to be holden the day, and place aforesaid; you cause two Knights girt with swords the most fit, and discreet of the County aforesaid; and

and of every City of that County two Citizens; of every bourough two Burgeses, of the discreeter, and most sufficient, to be freely and indifferently chosen by them who shall be present at such Proclamation, according to the tenor of the Statuts in that case made, and provided; And the names of the said Knights, Citizens and Burgeses so chosen to be inserted in certain Indentures to be then made between you and those that shall be present at such election, whether the parties so elected be present, or absent, and shall make them to come at the said day and place, so that the said Knights for themselves, and for the County aforesaid, and the Citizens and the Bourgeses for themselves, and the Comminality of the said Cities, and Bourroughs may have severally from them full and sufficient power to do, and to consent to those things which then by the favour of God shall there hapen to be ordain'd by the Common Councel of our said Kingdome concerning the businesse aforesaid so that the businesse may not by any means remain undone for want of such power, or by reason of the improvident election of the aforesaid Knights, Citizens, and Bourgeses; But we will not in any case that you or any other Sheriff of our said Kingdom shall be elected: And at the day, and place aforesaid the said Election, being made in a full County Court, You shall certifie without delay to us in our  
C Chan-

*Chancery under your Seal, and the Seals of them which shall be present at that Election, sending back unto us the other part of the Indenture aforesaid affixed to these presents together with the Writ. Witnesse our self at Westminster.*

This Commission or Writ is the foundation whereon the whole Fabric of the power and duty of both Houses of Parlement is grounded. The first House is to *parly or have conference, and to treat with the King*; the other House is only to *do and consent* unto what the other shall ordain by their help and conference: so that by this Writ we doe not find that the *Commons* are called to be any part of the great Councel of the Kingdom, or of the Supreme Court of Judicature, much less to have any share in the *Legislative power*, or to consult *de arduis regni negotiis*, of the difficult businesses of the Kingdom, but only to *consent*. And Sir Edward Coke to prove the *Clergy* hath no voyce in Parlement, useth this argument, That in their *Writ* also the words are to come thither *ad consentiendum*, to *consent* to such things as were ordained by the *Comon Councel* of the Kingdome; but the other word *ad faciendum*, to *do*, is not in their Writ *action* being not so proper for them in regard of their *Clerical* functions.

*Polyander.*

*Polyander,*

Then it may be well inferred from what you have produced, that the King with the Prelats and Peers is properly the Common Council of the Kingdom.

*Philanglus,*

Yes without controversie, nor untill the reign of *Henry* the first were the Commons call'd to the Parleмент at all, or had as much as a consent in the making of laws; *Camden* in his *Britannia* teacheth us, that in the times of the *Saxon* Kings, and the ensuing ages, that the great or Common Council of the land was *Præsentia Regis, Prælatorum procerumq; collectorum*, the presence of the King with the Prelats and Peers. *Selden* also tels out of an old Cronicle of the Church of *Liechfield*, that King *Edward* by the advice of his Council of Barons, reviv'd a law which had layn dormant threescore and seven years; in the same Cronicle it's said, that *William* the Conqueror held a Council of his Barons, *An. 4. regni sui apud Londinias*. The next year after he had a Council of Earls and Barons at *Pinenden* Heath, to decide the great controversie twix't *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Odo* Earl of *Kent*.

In the 21. of *Edward* the third, there is mention made of a Parleмент held 5<sup>o</sup> Com-

*questoris*, wherein all the Bishops of the Land, Earls and Barons made an Ordinance touching the Exemption of the Abby of *Bury* from the Bishops of *Notwich*.

In the second years of *William Rufus*, there is mention made of a Parleмент *de cunctis Regni principibus*. In the seventh of his reign there was another Parlement at *Rockingham Castle*, *Episcopis, Abbatibus, cunctisq; Regni principibus coeuntibus*, wherein the Prelats, Abbots, and all the chief men conven'd in Council.

At the Coronation of *Henry the first*, all the people of *England* were call'd, and laws were then made, but it was as the story saith *per commune Concilium Baronum*. In the third year, the tenth year, and the twenty third year of his reign the same King held a Parlement, or great Council of his Barons *spiritual and temporal*.

*Henry the second* in his tenth year had a Parlement at *Chirindon*, consisting of Lords spiritual and secular; in his twenty second year, he had another at *Nottingham*, and a while after another at *Windsor*, then another at *Northampton*, wherein there is mention made only of Prelats and Peers.

*Richard the first* after him held a Parlement at *Nottingham* in his fifth year, consisting of *Bishops, Earls and Barons*, which lasted

lasted but four dayes, during which time there were mighty things transacted; *Hugh Bardelf* was deprived of the Castle and Sherifswick of *York* the first day; the second day he had judgement against his brother *John* who was afterward King; the third day there was granted the King two shillings of every plowland in *England*; he required also the third part of the service of every Knights fee for his attendance to *Normandy*, and all the Wool of the *Cistercian* Monks. The fourth day was for hearing of grievances; so the Parlement broke up, but the same year he convoked another Parlement of Nobles at *Northampton*.

King *John* in his first year summon'd his *Magnates*, his great men to a Parlement at *Winchester*, and the words of the Roll are *Commune concilium Baronum meorum*, the Common Council of my Barons at *Winchester*.

In the sixth year of *Henry* the third, the Nobles granted the King for every Knights fee two marks in silver at a convention in Parlement; He had afterwards Parlements at *London*, *Westminster*, *Merton*, *Winchester*, and *Malborough*; Now these precedents shew that from the conquest untill a great part of the reign of *Henry* the third, in whose dayes 'tis thought the Writ for election

election of Knights was framed first, the *Barons* only made the *Parlement* or *Commons Councel* of the Kingdom.

*Polyander.*

By so many strong evidences, and pregnant proofs which you produce, I find it to be a *meridian* truth, that the *Commoners* were no part of the High Court of *Parlement* in ages pass'd: Moreover I find in an ancient Manuscript, that the *Commons* were reduc'd to a *House*, by the advice of the *Bishops* to the King in the brunt of the *Barons* wars, that they might allay and lessen the power of the *Peers* who bandied so many yeers against the *Crown*; yet to prevent that they should not arrogat too much authority to themselves,

(as, *Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum*)

It was done with those cautions that they had scarce as much jurisdiction given them as a *Pyepowders Court* hath, for they should neither exhibit an oth, nor impose fine, or inflict punishment upon any but their own members, or be a Court of Record, or grant *Proxies*, therefore it may well be a *quare* how they can appoint *Committees*, considering that those *Committee-men* whom they choose are no other then their *Deputies*, and act by power and *proxy* from them. But it is as clear as the Sun that the

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Conquerer first brought this word *Parlement* with him, being a *French* word, and made it free denizon of *England*, being not known before; for therein the *Normans* did imitat the *Romans*, whose practise was that wheresoever they conquered, they brought in their *language* with the *lance*, as a mark of conquest; I say that besides those instances you produce, I could furnish you with many in the *Saxons* times who governed by the council of the *Pre-lats* and *Peers*, not admitting the Commons to any communication in affairs of State; There are records hereof above a thousand year old in the reign of King *Ina*, *Offa*, and *Ethelbert*, and the rest of the seven Kings during the *Heptarchy*; They call'd their great Councils, and conventions then *michel smoth*, *michel Gemote*, and *Witenage mote*, wherein the King and Nobles with the *Bishops* only met, and made laws; that famous convention at *Gratley* by King *Athelstan* was composed only of *Lords spiritual* and *temporal*; such also was that so much celebrated Assembly held by *Canutus* the Dane, who was King of *England*, *Denmark* and *Norway*; *Edward* the Confessor established all his laws thus, and he was a great legislator; The *British* Kings also who retain'd a great while some part

of this Island unconquer'd, govern'd and made laws this way by the sole advice of their *Nobles* whom they call *Arglwyded*; witnesse the famous laws of Prince *Howell* call'd *Howell Dha* (the good King *Howell*) whereof there are yet extant some *Welch* records, and divers of those laws were made use of at the compilement of *Magna Charta*.

But in your discourse before, among other Parlements in *Henry the thirds* time, you make mention of one that was held in 55. of his reign at *Marlbourough*, at which time *Bracton* the great Lawyer was in high request, being Lord chief Justice; They that wold extenuat the *Royal Prerogative* inslist much upon a speech of his, wherein he saith, *The King hath a Superior God, he hath also the law by which he is made; as also the Court, viz, the Earls and Barons, but not a word of the Commons*; But afterwards he doth interpret, or rather correct himself, when speaking of the *King*, he resolves thus, *Nec potest ei necessitatem aliquis imponere quod injuriam suam corrigat & emendet, cum superiorem non habeat nisi Deum, & satis erit ei ad pœnam quod Dominum expectet ultorem*. Nor (saith he) can any man put a necessity upon the *King* to correct and amend his injury, unlesse he will himself, since he hath

no Superior but God: It will be sufficient punishment for him to expect the Lord for his avenger: To preserve the honor of this great Judge, the Lawyers found out this distinction, That the King is free from the *coercive* power of Laws and Councillors, but he may be subject to their *directive* power yet according to his own will and inclination, that is, *God* can only *compell* or *command* him, but the Law and his Courts may only advise and direct him; but I pray Sir excuse me that I have so much interrupted you in your discourse. You may please now to proceed.

*Philanglus.*

To prove my assertion further that the *Commons* were no part of the high Court, and Common Council of *England*, I will make use of the testimony of Mr. *Pryn*, who was in such high repute most part of the late long Parlemt, and appeer'd so eager for the priviledge and power of the lower House: In his book of *Treachery* and disloyalty, he proves that before the *Norman* Conquest, by the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, the King was to doe Justice by the Council of the *Nobles of his Realm*: he would also prove that the *Earls and Barons* are above the King, and ought to bridle him when he exorbitats from the law, but  
not

not a syllable of the *Commons*. He further tells us that the *Peers and Prelates* have oft translated the Crown from the right Heir, whereof out of his great reading he argueth divers examples ; First, after King *Edgar*'s decease they crowned *Edward* who was illegitimate, and put by *Ethelred* the right Heir : Then they crowned *Cannus* a meer foreigner in opposition to *Edmund* the lawful Heir to *Ethelred*. *Harold* and *Hardecnut* were both elected Kings successively without just title, the Lords putting by *Edmund* and *Alfred* the rightful Heirs. Upon the death of *Herald* the *English* Nobility enacted that none of the *Danish* blood should reign any more over them ; *Edgar Atheling* was rejected by the Lords, and though he had the best title, yet they elected *Harold*. He goes on further in prejudice of the *Commons*, saying, that the beginning of the Charter of *Henry the first* is observable, which runs thus, *Henry by the grace of God King of England, &c. Know ye that by the mercy of God and Common Council of the Barons of the Kingdom, I am crowned King. Matild* the Emperesse was the right Heir, but she was put by the Crown by the *Prelats and Barons*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Mortmain* who had no good title was heaved up into the Throne by the *Bishops and Peers*.

Lewis

*Lewis of France was crown'd King also by the Barons instead of King John; and by the same Barons was uncrown'd, and sent back to France. In all these high transactions, and changes, Mr. Pryn confesseth the Commons had nothing to do, the despotical and ruling power as well as the consultative being in the Council of Prelats and Peers; and if Mr. Pryn could have found half so much Antiquity for the Knights, Citizens, and Bourgesies, without question we should have heard from him with a witness; but while he converseth with Elder times, he meets not with so much as the names of Commons in any record.*

*Polyander.*

How then came the Commons to sway so much of late years, and challenge such an interest in the public government, and making of laws?

*Philanglus.*

It is a certain truth that in former ages the Kings of England, as well Saxon, Danes, Normans, and English Kings did steer the cours of their Government by the advice of their own Privy Council, and in extraordinary cases by the compasse of the great Council consisting only of spiritual and secular Barons, whom they convok'd by  
Royal

Royal summons when they pleas'd, I told you this word *Parlement* came in with the *Norman*; yet the *Commons* were not call'd to *Parlement* till the reign of *Henry* the first, which was a good while after the Conquest; to which purpose Sir *Walter Rawleigh* writes, saying, it is held that the Kings of *England* had no formal *Parlements*, till about the 18. year of *Henry* the first, at which time the *Commons* were summon'd, and the great *Charter* was granted: And if we beleeve Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others, the *House of Commons*, and *Magna Charta* had first but obscure births, being sprung from *usurpers*, and foster'd afterward by rebellion; For King *Henry* the first did but *usurp* the Kingdom, and therefore to secure himself the better against *Robert* his eldest brother, he courted the *Commons*, and granted them that great *Charter*, with *Charta de Foresta*; which King *John* confirm'd upon the same grounds, for he was also an *usurper*, *Arthur* Duke of *Britain* being the undoubted Heir of the Crown, so the *House of Commons* and these great *Charters* had their original from such that were Kings *de facto*, not *de jure*.

*Polyander.*

It is observed that *Usurpers* are commonly the best Law-makers, which they do to

in

ingratiate themselves the more to the people, as besides these Kings you have nam'd *Richard* the third did, who was said to be a good King though a *bad man*, a character clean contrary to that I heard some abroad give of the last King, who they said was a good man but an ill King; but I pray be pleas'd to proceed.

*Philanglus.*

Whereas I told you before that it was in the reign of *Henry* the first that the people were admitted to the Common Council of the Kingdom, yet they were not constantly call'd, for though the said King call'd them to his Coronation, and again in the 15. or 18. year of his reign, yet he did not so alwayes, neither many of those Kings that succeeded.

*Polyander.*

I remember to have read one remarkable passage in the reign of *Henry* the first, that in his third year for the marriage of his daughter he rais'd a tax upon every hide of land, but he did this by the advice of his *Privy Council* alone without consulting publicly with either *Prelat*, *Peers*, or people.

*Philanglus.*

So did divers of his Antecessors, and successors also after the *Commons* were admitted to partake of the Common Council;

cel; But to illustrate this point further, notwithstanding that the Commons were sought unto in *Henry* the firsts time, yet they were not constantly and formally sent unto till *Henry* the third, in whose reign the *Writs* of summons for elections were first issued; but the succeeding Kings assumed a power to regulate those *Writs* at pleasure by the sole advice of their *Privy Council*, as we read in the time of *Henry* the sixth, who was the first framer of that famous Ordinance, *Whereas Elections of Knights have been made with great outrages, and excessive number of people, of which most part was people of no value, yet pretend a voice equivalent to worthy Knights, and Esquires, whereby many riots, wars, slaughters, and division among Gentlemen shall likely be, Our Lord the King hath ordain'd that Knights of Shires be chosen by people dwelling in the Counties, every one of them having lands or tenements to the value of 40 s. per annum, at least, and that he who is chosen be dwelling and resident within the Counties where they are elected.*

*Polyander.*

But did not the Kings of England reserve a power to except against any that came to Parlement?

*Philanglus.*

*Mr. Camden* speaking of the dignities of *Barons*, saith that it was ordain'd and decreed



creed in the raig of *Henry* the third, that all those Earls and Barons unto whom the King himself vouchsafed to direct his Writs of summons should come to his Parlement, *and no others*; And this rule *Edward* the first constantly observed, and continued; for as *Camden* hath it, That prudent King summon'd alwayes those of *ancient families*, and who were most wise to his Parlement, and omitted their sons after their death, if they were not answerable to their fathers in *understanding*; In another place he saith elect men for wisdom and worth among the Gentry were call'd to Parlement, *and their posterity omitted*, if they were defective herein.

*Polyander.*

If the King hath a power to except against a Nobleman from sitting in Parlement, sure, by an argument *à majori ad minus*, he may do it against a Commoner.

*Philanglus.*

It should be so in reason, and *Queen Elizabeth*, who was so great a darling of her people, did practise her power that way often. But the modesty of the House of *Commons* was very great in former times, for they did arrogat no more power then what the Kings *Writ* gave them, they evaded *matters of state* as much as they could.

13. of *Edward* the third, a Parleмент was call'd to consult of the domestic quiet, the defence of the marches of Scotland, and security of the Seas from enemies, the Commons were desir'd their advice herein, but they humbly desir'd not to be put to consult of things, *Queux ils n'ont pas cognisance. Things whereof they had no cognisance.* In 21. of the same King, the Commons being mov'd for their advice touching a prosecution of a war with *France*, by an elegant speech of Justice *Thorp*, after four dayes consultation they answer'd, *That their humble desire of the King was, that he wold be advised therein by the Lords being of more experience then themselves in such affairs.*

In the 6. yeer of *Richard* the second, the Parleмент was call'd to consult, whether the King shold go in person to rescue the great City of *Gannt*, or send an Army, the Commons being ask'd their advice, they humbly answered by Sir *Thomas Puckering* their Speaker, that the Councils of War did more aptly belong to the King and his Lords. The next year after the Commons are will'd to advise of the Articles of peice with *France*, but they modestly excuse themselves as too weak to counsel in so weighty matters: And being charg'd again as they did tender the repute of their Countrey,

Countrey, and right of their King, they humbly delivered their opinions rather for *peace* then war : such was the moderation and modesty of the House of *Commons* in former times that they declin'd the agitation, and cognizance of high State affairs, especially *forren*, humbly transferring them to their *Soverain*, and his *Upper Council* ; a Parlemt man then, (I mean a member of the *Commons* House) thought it to be the adequat object of his duty, to study the welfare, to complain of the grievances, and have the defects supplied of that place for which he *serv'd* : The Bourgesse of *Lin* studied to find out something that mought have advanced the trade of *Fishing* ; He of *Normich* what mought have advantag'd the making of *Stuffs* : He of *Rye*, what might preserve their Harbor from being choaked up with shelves of sands : He of *Taverston*, what mought have further'd the manufacture of *Kersies* : He of *Suffolk*, what conduced to the benefit of *cloathing* : the Bourgesies of *Cornwall* what belong'd to their *Stanneries*, and in doing this they thought to have complyed with the obligation, and discharg'd the conscience of honest men, without soaring to things above their reach and roving at random to treat of Universals, to pry into

*Arcana Imperii*, and bring Religion to the bar, the one belonging to the chief Governour, and his intern Council of State, the other to *Divines* who according to the etymology of the word use to be conversant, and employ their talent in the exercise and speculation of holy and heavenly things.

*Polyander.*

I am clearly of your opinion touching the two last particulars; for secrecy being the soul of policy, matters of State should be communicated to the cognizance and deliberations of few, *viz.* the Governour in chief, and his *Privy Council*; And touching Religion, I do not see (humbly under favour) how it may quadrat with the calling of Laymen to determin matters of Divinity, and discusse points of Faith. But though the establishment of the House of Commons be a wholesome thing in it self, I heard it censur'd beyond the Sea, that there is a great incongruity in one particular, which is, that the *Burgeses* are more in number then the *Knights of Shires*, for the *Knights of Shires* are commonly Gentlemen well born, and bred, and divers of them versed in forreign governments as well as the laws of the land; But the *Bourgeses* of Towns are for the most part

part all *Tradesmen*, and being bred in Corporations they are more inclining to popular government and *Democracy*; Now, these exceeding the *Knights* in number, carry all before them by plurality of voyces, and so puzzle the proceedings of matters; But now that I have mentioned *Corporations* I must tel you that the greatest solœcism in the policy of this State is the number of them, specially in this monstrous City, which is composed of nothing else but Corporations, which smell ranck of little *Republiques* or *Hanses*; and it was a great Error in the last two Kings to suffer this *Town* to spread her wings so wide, for she bears no proportion with the bigness of the *Island*, but may fit a Kingdom thrice as spacious; she engrosseth and dreins all the wealth of the land, so that I cannot compare *England* more properly then to a *Cremona* Goose in *Italy*, where they have a way to fatten only the heart of the Goose, but in doing so they make the rest of the whole body grow lean and lank: And as it was an error so to suffer her to *Monopolize* the trade and riches of the land, so it was in letting her gather so much strength in exercise of arms, by suffering her to have such an *Artillery garden*, and *Military yard*; which makes me think on a speech of Count

*Gondamar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, who being invited by the King to see a muster of the Citizens in *St. James fields*; after they were gone, he was ask'd by the King how he lik'd his Citizens of *London*? Truly Sir, said he, I have seen a company of goodly able men, with great store of good arms, *but Sir I fear that these men will do you a mischief one day*, for the conceit wherewith they may be puff'd up for the knowledge they have in handling their arms, may heighten their spirits too much, and make them insolent; My Master, the King of *Spain*, though there breaths in his Court well neer as many souls as there are in *London*, and though he be in perpetual war with som or other, yet in his Court he is so peaceable that one shall see no sign of war at all, he suffers not any armed men to strut under his Nose, there is neither *Artillery Garden*, or *Military yard* there at all, but only a few *German* Partisans, that gird his body, therefore, as I said before, these men may do your Majesty an *ill turn* one day, and whether *Gondamar* was a Prophet herein or no, judge you. But I pray Sir be pleas'd to dispense with me for these interruptions I give to your former discours touching Parlements.

*Polyander.*

But some affirm that the *Legislative*  
D 3 power

power is in the two Houses, and that they are above the King.

*Philanglus.*

The difference 'twixt the King or Supreme Magistrat, and the Parlement, is this, that the one represents *God*, the other the *people*, then judge you to whom belongs the greatest power: 'Tis true, as I said before, the *consultative* power is in Parlement, and 'tis but by the Kings permission, the *commanding* power resides still in the *chief Governor*, and is inseparable from him, the results and productions of *Parlements*, at best, are but *Bills*, 'tis the Kings breath makes them *laws*, till then they are but dead things, they are like matches unfired, 'tis the King that gives life and light unto them: The Lords *advise*, the Commons *consent*, but the King *ordains*; they mould the *bills*, but the King makes them *laws*, therefore they are ever after called the *Kings laws*, the *Kings Judgements*: The Lords &c. have the *Indicatif* part, but the King the *Imperatif*: The *liberties* also of the people flow all from him, for *Magna Charta* begins thus, *Henry* by the grace of God, Know ye that We of our *meer and free will*, have given these *liberties*: in the self same style runs *Charta de foresta*.

The Statut of Marlborough, 52<sup>o</sup> Henry  
the



the third, runs thus, *The King hath made these Acts, Ordinances, and Statuts, which he willeth to be observed of all his subjects high and low.*

3<sup>o</sup> *Edwardi primi*, the title of the Statut is; These are the *Acts of King Edward*, and after it, it follows, *The King hath ordain'd these Acts*; the first Chapter begins, *The King forbiddeth and commandeth that none do hurt, damage, or grievance to any religious man, or person of the Church*; and in the 13. Chapter, *The King prohibiteth that none do ravish, or take away by force, any maid within age.*

6<sup>o</sup> *Edward* the first, it is said our Sovereign Lord the *King hath establisht the Acts*; commanding they be observed within this Realm: and in the 14. chap. the words are, *The King of his special grace granteth that the Citizens of London shall recover in an Assise damage with the land.*

The statut of *Westminster* 2. saith, *Our Lord the King hath Ordain'd* that the Will of the Giver be observed; and in the 3. chapter, *Our Lord the King hath Ordain'd* that a woman after the death of her husband shall recover by writ of *Entrie*.

The Statut of *Quo Warranto* saith, *Our Lord the King at his Parlement of his special Grace, and for affection which he beareth*

to his Knights, Earls and Barons, and others hath granted that they who have liberties by prescription shall enjoy them.

In the Statut *de finibus levatis*, the Kings words are, *We* intending to provide remedy in our Parlement *have Ordain'd*, &c.

28<sup>o</sup> *Edward* the first, *The King* wills that the Chancellor, and the Justices of the Bench shall follow him, so that he may at all time have some neer unto him that be learned in the laws: And in the 24. chapter the words are, Our Lord *the King* after full conference and debate had with his Earls, Barons, and Nobles by that consent  *hath Ordain'd*.

But most remarkable is that Letter which was sent to the Pope, 28<sup>o</sup> of the forenamed King, whereof Sir *Edward Coke* makes solemn mention in his Instituts, which Letter was sent by the House of Lords only to the Pope as I told you, for at the conclusion there are these words; *In cujus rei testimonium Sigilla nostra tam pro nobis quam pro tota Communitate Anglia presentibus sunt appensa*; In testimony whereof, our Seals, as well for our selfs as for the whole Cominalty of *England* are affix'd; whence he infers, that the *Commons* House had then neither Seal nor Spoke; &c. but the House of Peers represented the whole Nation.

*The*

*The Statut de Tallagio* speaks in the Kings person, no Officer of ours, no tallage shall be taken by us, *We will and grants.*

1<sup>o</sup> *Edward* the second begins thus, Our Lord the King *willeth and commandeth.*

The Statut of the 9. of the same King, saith, *Our Lord the King* by the assent of the Prelats, Earls, and other great States *hath Ordain'd.*

The Statut of *Carlile* saith, We have sent our *command* in writing firmly to be observed.

1<sup>o</sup> *Edward* 3. begins thus, King *Edward* the third, At the request of the *Comminalty*, by their *Petition* before him, and his *Councel* in Parlement hath granted, &c. And in the 5. chapter, *The King willeth* that no man be charg'd to arm himself otherwise then he was wont.

5<sup>o</sup> *Edward* the third, Our Lord the King at the request of his peeples hath *established* these things which he wills to be kept.

9<sup>o</sup> Of the same King there is this title, Our Lord *the King* by the assent, and advice of his *Councel* being there, *hath ordained*, &c. In the 10. yeer of the same King it is said, Because our Lord the King hath receiv'd by the complaints of the Earls, Barons, also at the shewing of the Knights of the Shires, and the *Commons* by their

their *Petition*, in his Parleмент, &c. hath ordain'd by the assent, and at the request of the said Knights and Commons, &c. But very remarkable is that of 22. of Edward the third, where it is said, *The King makes the laws by the assent of Peers and Commons, and not the Peers and Commons.*

The Statut of 1. Ric. 2. hath this beginning, *Richard the second* by the assent of the *Prelats, Dukes, Earls, and Barons*, and at the instance and special request of the *Commons* hath *Ordained*.

As for the Parlements in *Henry the fourth, Henry the fifth, Henry the sixth, Edward the fourth, and Richard the third* reign, most of them do all agree in this one title, *Our Lord the King* by the *advice* and assent of his *Lords*, and at the special instance and request of the *Commons*, hath *Ordained*.

The Statuts in *Henry the seventh's* days do for the most part agree both in the titles and bodies of the Acts in these words, *The King* by the assent of the *Lords spiritual and temporal*, and the *Commons* in Parlement assembled hath *Ordained*.

But very remarkable it is that the House of *Commons* was never *Petitioned* unto till *Henry the seventh's* reign, and it was about the middle thereof; which *Pe-*

*tion* is inserted among the Statuts, but though the Petition be directed to the House of Commons in point of title, yet the prayer of the Petition is turn'd to the King, and not to the Commons. The Petition begins thus, *To the right Worshipful Commons in this present Parlement assembled,* shews to your discreet wildoms the Wardens of the Fellowship of the Craft of Upholsters within London, &c. But the conclusion is, *Therefore it may please the Kings Highnesse, by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and his Commons in Parlement, &c.*

Thus it appears that in our Forefathers days it was punctually exprest in all laws that the *Statuts* and Ordinances were made by the King: And withall it is visible by what degrees the stiles and titles of Acts of Parlement have been varied, and to whose advantage. The higher we look, the more absolute we find the power of *Kings in ordaining laws*, nor do we meet with at first so much as the assent or advice of the *Lords* mentioned. Nay, if one cast his eye upon many Statuts of those that be of most antiquity, they will appear to be no other things but the *Kings plesure*, to whom the punishments of most offences we e left: The *punitive* part which is the chiefest

chiefest vigor of the law we find committed by the Statuts themselves to the *Kings* meer *will and plesure*, as if there were no other law at all, witnesse these precedents.

3<sup>o</sup> *Edward* the first, the ninth chapter saith, That Sheriffs, Coronets and Bayliffs for concealing of felonies shall make grievous fines *at the Kings plesure*.

Such as shall be found culpable of ravishing of women shall fine *at the Kings plesure*.

The penalty for detaining a Prisoner that is mainpernable is a fine *at the Kings plesure*.

Offenders in Parks or Ponds, shall make fines *at the Kings plesure*.

Committers of Champarty, and extortioners are to be punished *at the Kings plesure*.

Purveyors not paying for what they take shall be grievously punished *at the Kings plesure*.

*The King* shal punish grievously the Sheriff, and him who maintains quarrels.

Taker away of Nuns from religious Houses to be fined at the *Kings will*.

If a Goldsmith be attainted, for not assaying, touching and working vessels of gold he shall be punished *at the Kings plesure*.

There

There is a notable saying declar'd in the 8. yeer of *Henry* the fourth, viz. *potestas principis non est inclusa legibus*, the power of the Prince is not curb'd by law.

In the 2. yeer of *Henry* the fifth, there was a law made wherein there is a clause, that it is the *Kings Regality* to grant or deny such Petitions as he please.

6<sup>o</sup> *Henry* the sixth, An Ordinance was made to endure as long as it shold please the *King*.

Now for further proof, that the legislative power is in the King, or *Supreme Magistrat*, it is to be observed, that as *Sir Edward Coke* saith, All *Acts* of Parleмент in former times, were in form of *Petitions*; now, if the *Petitions* were from Parleмент, and the answer from the King, 'tis easie to judge who makes the *Acts*: Moreover *Sir John Glanvil* affirms that in former times the way of Petitioning the King was this, The Lords, and Speaker either by words or writing preferr'd their Petition to the King, (which was afterwards called a *bill*) which Petition being received by the King, he received part, and part he put ont, and part he ratified, and as it came from him it was drawn to a law.

Furthermore it appears that Ordinances, Provisions, and Proclamations made here-

heretofore out of Parlement have been alwayes acknowledged for laws, and Statutes.

The Statute call'd the Statute of Ireland, dated at Westminster, 9. Feb. 14. Henry the third, was nothing else but a Letter of the Kings to Gerard son of Maurice Justicer of Ireland.

'Tis hard to distinguish among the old Statutes what laws were made by Kings in Parlement, what out of Parlement, when Kings call'd the Peers only to Parlement, (and of those as many and whom they pleas'd) it was no easie matter to put a difference 'twixt a Proclamation and a Statute; or 'twixt the Kings Privy Council, and his Common Council of the Kingdom.

In the Statute of Westminister 'tis said, These are the Acts of King Edward the first, made at his first Parlement by his Council, &c.

The Statute of Burnell hath these words, The King for Himself, and by his Council, hath ordain'd and established.

When Magna Charta was confirmed, there are found these two provisions in articulis super Chartas.

First, nevertheless the King and his Council do not intend by reason of this Statute to diminish the Regal right.

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The second, notwithstanding all these things before mentioned or any part of them, both the King and his Council, and all they who were present will, and intend that the *right and Prerogative of his Crown* shall be saved to him in all things.

The *Statut of Escheators* hath this title, At the Parlement of our Soverain Lord the King, by his Council it was agreed, and also by the *King himself commanded*.

The *Statut made at York*, 9. *Edward* the third, goeth thus, *The King* by advice of his Council hath ordained.

Now touching the *Kings Council*, I mean his *Privy Council*, it hath been always of great authority, and extremely useful in the public government of the Common-wealth, and all Kings have acted most by it. King *Edward* the first, finding that *Bogo de Clare* was discharged of an accusation brought against him in *Parlement*, yet he commanded him never the lesse to appeer before him, and his *Privy Council*, *ad faciendum & recipiendum quod per Regem, & ejus Concilium faciendum*, and so proceeded to a re-examination of the whole businesse.

*Edward* the third in the *Star-chamber*, which was the ancient *Council Table* of the Kings, upon the complaint of *Elizabeth Andley* commanded *James Andley* to appeer before

before him and his Councel, where a controverſie was determin'd between them touching land contained in her joynture.

*Henry* the fifth, in a ſute before *him* and his Councel for the titles of the Mannors of *Serre*, and *Saint Laurence* in the Ile of *Thanet* in *Kent*, ſent order for the profits to be ſequeſtered till the right were tried.

*Henry* the ſixt, commanded the Juſtices of the Bench to ſtay the arraignment of one *Varney* in *London*, till they had commandement from *Him*, and his Councel.

*Edward* the fourth, and his Privy Councel herd, and determined the cauſe of the Maſter, and poor brethren of *St. Leonards* in *York*, complaining that *Sir Hugh Haſtings* and others, withdrew from them a great part of their living, which conſiſted chiefly upon the having of a thrave of corn upon every plowland within the Counties of *York*, *Cum-berland*, &c.

*Henry* the ſeventh, and his Privy Councel commended that *Margery* and *Florence Becket* ſhall ſue no further in their cauſe againſt *Alice Radley*, widow for lands in *Woolwich* and *Plumſtead* in *Kent*.

In *Henry* the thirds time, an order or proviſion was made by the Kings Councel, and it was pleaded at the Common law in bar to writ of dower.

We find also that it hath been very usual for the *Judges* before they would resolve or give judgments in some cases to consult with the Kings *Privy Council*.

In the case of *Adam Brabson*, who was assaulted in the presence of the Justices of Assize at *Westminster*, the *Judges* would not proceed without the advice of the Kings *Privy Council*.

*Green* and *Thorp* were sent by the Judges to the Kings *Privy Council* to demand of them whether by the statute of *Edward* the third, a word may be amended in a writ.

In the 39. of *Edward* the third, in the case of *Sir Thomas Ogthred*, who brought a *formedon* against a poor man and his wife, the Judges said, *Sue to the Kings Council*, and as they will have us to do, we will do, and no otherwise.

Thus we find that the Court Council did guide and check the Judges oftentimes, yet the *Judges* have guided the great Common Council, or high Court of Parliament.

*Polyander.*

I perceive that you have studied the point of *King* and *Parlement*, to very good purpose by these choyce instances you have produced; but I find that though the *Parlement* hath been held the *Great Council* of  
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the Kingdom, yet the ordinary, and constant way of government was by the King or *So-  
verain Magistrate, and his Council of State:* for the *great Council*, (without disparagement) may be call'd the production of the *Privy Council*, witnesse the words of the *writ* of summons. But since you have proceeded so far, I desire to know, whether by an implicit faith we are to obey what the Parlement determines; or whether it may err or no, and what are those privileges it hath.

*Philanglus.*

I shall do my endeavour to satisfie you in all; Touching the *first*, no doubt but we are to acquiesce in what a tru Parlement ordains, for it is generally binding, and requires an universal obedience, because it bears the stamp of *Royal* authority, and of the *Supreme Magistrate*, who is the head of the Parlement, who having consulted with his Judges, and *Privy Council* must be satisfied in his own conscience of the justness of such bills that he is to passe for laws, because afterward he is to *protest* them, and his soul lies by oth at the stake for the defence and safeguard of them; he is also to consult with his learned and *Privy Council* whether they trench upon his *Royal Prerogative*, and then his answer is,

is, you know it, *le Roy s'avisera*, the King will consider of it, which, though in civil terms, is equivalent to a flat *denyal*.

Touching the second point, Sir *Edward Coke* tells us that *Parlements* have been utterly *deceiv'd*; and that in cases of greatest moment, specially in the interpretation of laws, and in that point the twelve Judges, who are called the Sages and Oracles of the law, and whose duty it is *legem dicere*, are to be beleev'd before the Parliament, whose office is more *legem dare*, to make new laws, then to expound the old; *Parlements* being composed of men may erre; Mr. *Pryn*, as I alledged before, tells us how many usurpers they have preferred before the rightful Heirs; How often did *Henry* the eighth make *Parlements* the panders of his lust, and instruments of his tyranny; In whose time there are three Acts observable.

1. That Proclamations should be equivalent to Laws.

2. That *Queen Elizabeth* was illegitimate.

3. That the King in his last will might name whom he pleas'd to be his successor: Besides in lesse then four yeers, *Religion* was changed twelve times in his reign by Parliament.

*Polyander.*

Touching the last *Act of naming a successor*, I have seen a manuscript which makes mention that *Henry* the eight som 2. years before his death summon'd a Parliament, wherein he intimated unto them, that one of the main designs of conyoking that Parliament, was, that they *shold declare a successor to the Crown*; But the Parliament with much modesty answer'd, that touching that point, it belong'd to his Majesty to consider of it, and consult with his *learned and Privy Councel* about it; And whomsoever his Majesty wold please to nominat in his last Will, they wold confirm and ratifie; Whereupon old *Harry* made a formal Will, which was enroll'd in the Chancery, wherein (remembring the perfidious carriage of *James* the fourth, his brother in law) he declar'd the issue of his eldest sister, the *Queen of Scots*, being forreners, incapable to inherit, and the issue of *Charles Brandon*, after the progeny of his own body, to succeed next: This *Will* continued in the Chancery all *Edward* the sixts time, till *Queen Mary*, who about the midst of her raigh did cancel it. But now Sir, be pleas'd to pardon this Parenthesis, and resume the threed of your former Discours, in displaying what are the *privileges* of Par-

Parlement, which were so much insisted upon, and cried up in the late *long* Parliament; till they swell'd so high, that they swallowed up and devour'd the Prerogative; and overwhelm'd all the banks of Justice, and private propriety.

*Philanglus.*

If we will give credit to Sir *Ed. Coke*, who was a great Champion of the House of *Commons*, and no friend to *Prerogative* (which he was us'd to call that *Great Monster*) the privilege of freedom from Arrests is the *only* privilege of Parlement. He cannot, or at least, he doth not so much as name any other in his Section of the *privileges of Parliament*; neither is *this* privilege so unquestionable and cleer as som do imagine, as divers examples may be produced in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, who was so great a *darling of the Commons*; In the 39. of her reign, Sir *Ed. Hobby*, and Mr. *Brograve* Attorney of the *Duchy* were sent by the House to the Lord Keeper, to *require* his Lordship to revoke two writs of *Subpœnas* which were serv'd upon Mr. *Tho. Knevet* a member of the House; the Lord Keeper demanded of them whether they were appointed by any advised consultation of the House to deliver this message unto him with the word *require*; they answer'd, yes; He replyed as he

thought reverently and honorably of the House, and of their liberties and privileges, so to revoke the said *subpenas* in that sort was to restrain her Majesty in her greatest power which is in the public administration of Justice in the place wherein he serves her, Therefore he concluded, that as they had required him to revoke his writ, so he did require further deliberation.

18<sup>o</sup> *Eliz.* report was made by the Attorney of the *Duchy* upon the Committee for the delivering of one Mr. *Hals* man, that the Committee found no precedent for setting at large by the Mace any person in arrest but only by writ, and that by divers precedents of records perus'd by the said Committee it appeared that every Knight, Citizen, or Burgesse, which doth desire privilege, hath used in that case to take a corporal oth before the Lord Chancellor or Keeper for the time being, that the party for whom such writ is prayed *came up with him, and was his servant at the time of the arrest made*; Thereupon Mr. *Hall* was directed by the House to repair to the Lord Keeper, and make oth, and then to take a warrant for a writ of privilege for his servant.

27<sup>o</sup> *Eliz.* *Richard Coke*, a Parleмент member, being served with a *subpœna* of Chancery: The Lord Keeper boldly answer'd,



swer'd, that he thought the House had no such privilege against *subpœnas*, as they pretended : Neither could he allow of any precedents of the House used in that behalf, unless the House of Commons could also prove the same to have been likewise allowed, and ratified by precedents in the high Court of Chancery.

Now, the Original writ for Election, which is the foundation of the whole business, makes mention of no such privilege, and 'tis a rule that to vary from the meaning of the Writ makes a nullity of the cause, and the proceedings thereupon : For where a Commissioner exerciseth more power then is warranted by his Commission, the act is not only invalid but punishable.

Now the end and scope of privileges of Parlemt, is not to give power to do any public act not warranted by the writ, but they are intended as helps only to enable the members towards the performance of their duties, and so are subservient to the power comprized in the Writ ; For instance, the freedom from Arrests doth not give any power at all to the House of Commons to do any extraordinary act thereby, but the Members are made the more capable to attend the public service by be-

ing free from the trouble of arrests; so that this privilege giveth no further power at all, but only helps to the execution of the power derived from the Royal writ; Nor can the Freeholders by their Elections give any such privilege of exemption from arrests, but it is the meer gift, and grace of the Sovereign Prince, yet in point of trefon, felony or breach of the Kings peace this privilege extends not; Now privileges are things contrary to law, or at least they serve as a dispensation against law, intended originally for the better expediting of the Kings businesse, or some public service.

Nor could the House of Commons punish any for breach of this their privilege till they had confer'd with the Lords, and till the punishment had been referred by them to the Commons; there is a notable example hereof in the 33. of *Henry* the eight, *George Ferrers* the Kings servant and Burgesse of *Plymouth* going to Parlement, was arrested by proces out of the Kings Bench for debt; which being signified to *Sir Thomas Mowl* then Speaker, the Sargeant that attended the House was sent to the Counter to demand *Ferrers*, The officers of the Counter refuse to deliver him, and giving the Sargeant ill language a scuffle

scuffle happened; the Sheriff of *London* being sent for took part with the Counter, and so the Sargeant return'd without the prisoner; This being related to the House of Commons they wold sit no longer without their member, and desiring a conference with the Lords, Sir *Tho. Audley* then Chancellor, and the rest judged the contempt to be very great, and *referred the punishment* thereof to the House of Commons it self.

Concerning liberty or freedom of speech which is held another privilege of Parliament; There is a speech of Sir *Thomas Moors* upon record, who being chosen Speaker, 14<sup>th</sup> *Henry* the eight, *He first disabled himself*, and then petition'd the King in the behalf of the House, *That if in communication and reasoning any man shold speak more largely then of duty he ought to do, all such offences shold be pardoned*, which was granted and entred upon record. In which petition it is observable, that liberty or freedom of speech is not a power for men to speak what they will or please in Parliament, It is a privilege only not to be punished, but pardoned for the offence of speaking more largely then in duty they ought to do; which in a right construction must be understood of rash, unadvised, ignorant

rant, or negligent escapes, and slips in speech, not for wilful, malicious, much less for *tresonable* speeches; And then the Kings pardon was desired to be upon record that it might be pleaded at bar to all actions.

There is a speech upon record in *Queen Elizabeths* time, wherein the Commons were warn'd not to meddle with the *Queens Person, the State, or Church-government.*

*Polyander.*

I have heard of divers traverses that happened in the raign of that popular and long-liv'd *Queen* which trenched as much, if not more upon the privileges of *Parlement*, and the liberties of the peeple, then any that happen'd in the raign of the two last Kings.

*Philanglus.*

It is very true, and I will give you some instances drawn from good authentic records: 23. *Elizabeth*, Mr. *Paul Wentworth* moved in the House for a public fast, and for a Sermon every morning at seven a clock before the House sate: The House hereupon was divided, 100 were against it, and 150 for it, and so an order passed accordingly; The *Queen* being told hereof sent a message to the House by her Vicechamberlain; *That her Highnesse had great admiration of the rashnesse of the House in committing such an apparent contempt of her expresse command,*

as to put in execution such an innovation without her privy or pleasure first known. Thereupon Mr. Vicechamberlain moved the House to make an humble submission to her Majesty, acknowledging the said offence and contempts, and to crave remission for the same, with a full purpose to forbear the committing of the like hereafter: So by the Suffrage of the whole House, Mr. Vicechamberlain carried their submission to the Queen accordingly.

35<sup>o</sup> Elizabeth, Mr. Peter Wentworth, and Sir Henry Bromley delivered a Petition to the Lord Keeper desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be suppliants with them of the Lower House unto her Majesty for entayling the succession of the Crown, whereof a Bill was ready drawn. The Queen was highly displeased herewith, and charged her Council to call the parties before them, so Sir Thomas Henage was sent to fetch them; so they were first commanded to forbear going to the House, and not to go out of their several lodgings; afterward they were called before the Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, and Sir Tho. Henage: Wentworth was committed to the Tower, and Bromley to the Fleet, together with Mr. Stevens, as also Mr. Welch Knight for Worcester-shire.

The Queen sent a notable check to the House

House of Commons 28. of her raign for choosing and returning Knights of the Shire for *Norfolk*, a thing impertinent for the House to deal withall, and belonging only to the office and charge of her Chancellor from whom the Writs issue and are return'd.

In one Parlement, when Mr. *Coke*, afterwards Sir *Edward Coke*, was Speaker, the Queen sent a Messenger or Sargeant at Arms into the House of Commons, and took out Mr. *Morris* and committed him to prison, with divers others, for some speeches spoken in the House; Thereupon Mr. *Wroth* moved the House that they wold be humble suitors to her Majesty, that she wold be pleased to enlarge those members of the House that were restrain'd, which was done accordingly; and answer was sent by her Privy Councel, That her Majesty had committed them for causes best known to her self, and to presse her Highnesse with this suit wold but hinder the whole good they sought: That the House must not call the Queen to an account for what she doth of her Royal authority; That the causes for which they are restrain'd may be high and dangerous; That her Majesty liketh no such questions, neither doth it becom the House to search into matters of that nature.

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The Commons were told 39 *Elizabeth*, that their privilege was *yea* and *no*; And that her Majesties plesure was, that if the Speaker perceived any idle heads, which wold not stick to hazard their own estates, but meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Common weal by exhibiting bills to that purpose, the Speaker shold not receive them till they were view'd and considered by those who are fitter to consider of such things, and can better judge of them; Moreover the Queen rejected 48. bills which had passed both Houses in that Parlement.

The House of Commons by their Speaker 39 *Elizabeth*, complain'd of som *Monopolies*, whereupon the Lord Keeper made answer in her Majesties name, That her Highnesse hoped her dutiful and loving subjects wold not take away her Prerogative, which is the chieftest flower in her Garland, the principal and head Perl in her Crown and Diadem, but that they will rather leave that to her own disposition.

Sargeant *Heal* said 43<sup>o</sup> *Elizabeth* publicquely in Parlement, that He marvelled the House stood either at the granting of a Subsidy or time of payment, considering that all we have is her Majesties, and she may lawfully at her plesure take it from us, in regard she had as much right to all our lands and goods, as to any revenue of the

*the Crown, and he said he could prove it by precedents in the reign of Henry the third, King John, and King Stephen. This speech agrees with that which Sir Edward Coke hath in his Institutes, where he saith positively, that The first Kings of this Realm had all the lands of England in Demesne, and the great Manors and Royalties they reserved to themselves, and enfeoffed the Barons of the remnant for the common defence of the Kingdom.*

There was a remarkable passage happen'd in the reign of Henry the fourth, The House of Commons Petitioned the King that they might have advice, and communication with certain Lords about matters of businesse in Parlement for the common good of the Kingdom, which prayer as the record hath it, Our Lord the King graciously granted, but with this Protestation, *That he did it not of duty, nor of custom, but of his special grace.* So our Lord the King charg'd the Clerk of the Parlement that this Protestation shold be entred upon record in the Parlement roll. This the King made known to them by the Lord Say, and his Secretary: who told them that *Our Lord the King neither of due, nor custom ought to grant any Lords to enter into communication with them of matters touching the Parlement, but by his special*



*special grace at this time he granted their request in this particular; And the said Steward and Secretary brought the King word back from the Commons, That they knew well they could not have any such Lords to commune with them of any businesse of Parlement without special grace, and command from the King himself.*

*Polyander.*

But is it not the privilege of Parlement to examin misdemeanures of Juridical Courts, and Officers of State according to *Lex Repetendarum*?

*Philanglus.*

This cannot be call'd properly a privilege, for ther is not the meanest subject, but hath liberty on just cause to question any Court or Officer, if he suffer by them; yet it hath been esteemed a great favor from the Prince to permit such examinations; for we read that when the Lords were displeased with the greatnesse of *Piers Gaveston*, 'tis said, that in the next Parlement, The whole Assembly obtained leave of the King to draw Articles of their grievances, which they did, two whereof were; That all strangers should be banish'd the Kingdom (whereof *Gaveston* was one,) The second was, that busineses of State should be trected by the Clergy and Nobles.

*Polyander.*

*Polyander.*

Though the Cognizance and debating of great affairs of State, belong to the high Court of Parleмент, yet I have read that often times the Lords have transmitted such busineses to the Kings *privy Councel*.

*Philanglus.*

'Tis a great truth, and many instances might be produc'd for proof therof; Among others, when one *Mortimer*, who stil'd himself Captain *Mend-all* (otherwise call'd *Jack Cade*) came with a rabble of the vulgar with a Petition to the lower House, the Commons rent it up to the Lords, and the Lords transmitted it to the Kings *privy Councell* to consider of.

*Polyander.*

But the granting of *Subsidies* is a peculiar privilege of the House of Commons.

*Philanglus.*

I think not, for it is an unquestionable truth, that Subsidies were rais'd, and payed before ever the Commons were call'd to sit in Parleмент; The great and long Subsidy of *Dane-gelt* was without any gift of the Commons, or of any Parleмент at all as can be prov'd. *Henry* the third impos'd a Subsidy of two Marks in Silver upon every Knights Fee only by the advice of his Councell. The words of the King when

when he passeth the Bill of Subsidy are observable, which are these: *Le roy remercie ses loyaux Subjèts, accepte leur benevolence, & aussy ainsy le veut*, The King thanks his loyall Subjects, accepts of their good will, and *also will have it*; which last words make the Act of Subsidy a *Law*, and so binds every man to the payment of it; Insomuch that the Parlement cannot impose a peny upon the Subject without the King, nor can the Free-holders whom they serve invest any such power in them: But for the Soverain Prince himself, there are a world of examples old and new, how he hath not only raised pecuniary sums in *specie*, but laid Impositions upon Commodities by meer Royall authority; I shall instance only in two, *viz.* in *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*, the first layd an Imposition upon *Cloth*, and *Gascon Wines*; the other upon *Sweet Wines* and *Allome*, sans Parlement.

*Poljander.*

I find by the substance of your discourse, that not only all power and grace, but all Parliamentary privileges flow from the concession of the Soverain Prince, and chief Magistrat.

*Philanglus.*

Yes, without contröversie you know (as a Gentleman wittily observes) 'tis an axiom

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in Philosophy, *quod dat formam*, That that which gives the form, gives the consequence of the form; The King by his Writ gives the very essence, and form to the Parleмент, being the production of his breath, therefore *privileges* which are but consequences of the form must necessarily proceed from him.

In the 21 of King *James*, a Declaration was sent from *New-Market* to the Parlement wherein he asserts; That most *privileges* of Parlement grew from precedents, which shew rather a toleration than an Inheritance, therefore he could not allow of the style they used to him, calling it their ancient and undoubted Rights and Inheritance, but could rather have wished they had said, their *privileges* were derived from the grace and permission of his *Ancestors* and Himself. Thereupon he concludes, that He cannot with patience endure his Subjects to use such *Antimonarchicall* words concerning their liberties, except they had subjoyned they were granted unto them by the grace, and favour of his *Progenitors*; yet he promiseth to be carefull of whatsoever *privileges* they enjoy by long custom, and incontrolled lawfull precedents.

At the presentment of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the King upon the first day of Parlement, the Speaker in the name and behoof of the Commons humbly craves that his Majesty wold be pleased graciously

ciously to *grant* them their accustomed liberties and privileges, which petition of theirs is a fair recognition of the primitive grace and favour of the Sovereign Prince in bestowing of *Privilege*, and is a shrewd argument against any other title. For our Antecessors wold not have bin so ceremonious, nor so full of complement as to beg that of *grace*, which they might have claymed *de jure* by right : And the renewing of this Petition at the beginning of every Parlement, argues the grant to be but temporary.

*Polyander.*

This was not the Doctrine it seems, of the late long Parlement, whose *privileges* flew so high that they ore-topped not only the Royal Prerogative, but all the Tribunals of Justice, for they drew the reigns of all *Rule* and *Reason* into their hands, and left the *Governor* in chief neither of them ; And if he chanced to send them any advice or admonition, whereof many of his Declarations consisted, 'twas presently cryed up to be *breach of privilege, breach of privilege.*

But Sir, by the sequel of our former discourse, I find that the *High Court or Common Council* of this Kingdom was compos'd at first of *Prelats* and *Peers*, that *Parlement* is but a modern *French* word, and came in after the *Norman Conquest* ; I find also that *ma-*

king the Commons a House, that *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de foresta*, were not free Spontaneous Grants, but that they were in a manner extorted from Kings in times of necessity, and confusion; I find also that the Primitive and ordinary way of Government was in one supreme Magistrat alone, with his Council of State, and when he pleas'd, by the Common Concel; But now Sir, I pray be pleas'd to acquit your self of the promise you did me the favor to make, of acquainting me with the proceedings of the late long Parlement.

*Philanglus.*

To do that, I will deduce matters from the beginning, and to find them out we must look North-ward, for there the fatal cloud of all our ensuing confusions began to condense first. And never was that old Proverb more visibly fulfill'd,

*Omne malum nobis ex Aquilone venit.*

From the cold North,  
All ill comes forth.

You know Sir, the *Scots* Nation were ever used to have their King personally resident among them at home, and though King *James* by reason of his Age, bounty, and long breeding there, with other advantages, drew such extraordinary respects from them, that

that they continued in a good conformity all his Reign, yet after his death they were often over-heard to mutter at the remotenes and absence of their King, and that they should now become a kind of *Province* truckling under *England*, by reason of such a distance from the Royall Court: Moreover some of their Nobles and Gentry found not at the *English* Court, nor at the late Kings Coronation in *Edenburgh*, that countenance, familiarity, benefit and honours which they expected: And 'tis too well known who *He* was that having got some wealth in the *Swedish* wars, and being denyed to be Lorded, took a pet and went hence discontented to his own Country. These discontented parties tamper'd with the mercenary preach-men up and down *Scotland* to obtrude and *hold out* to the people what Doctrines were put into their mouths by their Lay Patrons, so that the Pulpits every where rung of nothing but of Invectives against certain obliquities and Solæcismes, and I cannot tell what, in the present Government, and many glances they had upon the *English* Church. Yet all this while there was not matter enough for an insurrection, nor to dispose the peeples hearts to a mutiny, untill by the policy of the said discontented party, the *English Liturgy* was

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sent

sent thither. This by the incitement of those fiery Pulpiteers, was cryed up to be the greatest Idol that possibly could be brought into their *Kirk*, insomuch that when it was first offered to be read, the women and baser sort of mechanicks threw stools at the Bishops heads in the *Kirk*, and were ready to tear them in peeces: And here began the first storm.

The King having notice hereof sent a Proclamation, signifying, that whereas he had recommended that Book of Common Prayer to be practised among them, whereby his other two Kingdoms, and he himself served God Almighty twice a day, he did it only out of a design to establish an uniformity of publick Divine service in all his Dominions, specially in that his native Countrey. But since it had produced such dangerous effects, he was contented to revoke it absolutely; It never being his purpose to *press* the practise of the said book upon the conscience of any, for he did only *commend*, not peremptorily *command* the use of it. Therefore he exhorted, and required that every one unto whom it had given any scandall, should return to his former obedience, and serve God as he was wont, offering therewith a generall Pardon, and to passe an Act of *Amnestia* for the abolition of all offences passed.

*Polyander.*



*Polyander.*

And wold not this suffice? In naturall motions we find that the cause being taken away, the effect ceaseth, and will not this rule hold in civil Commotions?

*Philanglus.*

It seems not, this wold not serve the turn, but there was a further reach in it, and to take the advantage of fishing in these troubled waters: You know the *Scots* since their single Lion came to quarter with our *three*, have bin much heightned in their spirits, more respected, employed, and trusted abroad, more elevated in their resolutions and aims, they grew rich, for you have heard of a Silver Mine that reached from the Exchequer in *Westminster* to *Edenborough*: And I beleeeve you have not forgot *Boccolines* balance, wherein *Lorenzo de Medici* was appointed by the Oracle at *Delphos* to weigh all the States of *Christendom*, and throwing *England* into the Scales to counterpoise *France*, you know how much he made her to weigh less by the addition of *Scotland*.

*Polyander.*

I beleeeve we had been better without this addition, for the union 'twixt *Scotland* and *England* may be sayd to be a mixture of Vinegar with Oyl, and you know what a corroding hungry thing the first is.

F 4

*Philanglus.*

To resume my discourse, the former Proclamation, though it breathed nothing but grace, wold not suffice the *Scots*, but having an *Inch* given them they wold take an *Ell*, and nothing wold serve their turn but an utter extirpation of *Episcopacy*, for by trampling the Miter under their feet, they hoped to have some of the Birds plumes, being plucked to feather their own Nests, and they brought their work about: Good Lord, what a deal of dirt was thrown into the Bishops faces by every rural petty Clerk? what infamous Ballads were sung up and down? what a thick Cloud of Epidemicall hatred hung suddenly over them, so far that a white *Dog* with a black neck or spots, was called *Bishop* amongst them.

The chiefest contrivers of this uproar, finding their design to fadge so well, and perceiving the Country to be so eagerly bent against Bishops (and what Artifices and suggestions were used to render them so odious, is incredible,) But finding withall the King unwilling to alter the Government his Father had left him, and to which he had been sworn at his Coronation; They put themselves in Arms, and rais'd forces to beat down the Miter with the *Sword*, if the *Scepter* would not do it. To the Eng-  
lish

*lish* frontiers they marched with a numerous Army, pretending they came as Petitioners, but they brought their Petition upon the pikes point. Hereupon the King raised a Counter Army, and marched as far as *Berwick*, but some of the great ones about him grew cold in the Action, so a pacification was shuffled up, and I think it was the most dishonourable that ever *England* made.

*Polyander.*

I could have wished two things, that either the King had then given them Battell, having the flowr of his Nobility and Gentry about him, who I understood came with all promptitude and cheerfulness to the service; or else that after the *Pacification* he had with a royall freedom, and a commanding confidence gone amongst them in person to hanse their new Parleмент-house at *Edenburgh*, for in all probability this cours might have averted those showers and Cataracts of miseries which fell upon him afterwards; but I pray Sir proceed.

• *Philanglus.*

Hereupon a Parlement was summonsd in *England*, a Parlement do I call it? it was rather an Embrio of a Parlement, a kind of Ephemeran thing. In this short sitting the King declared to both Houses the indignities

ties he had received from his *Scots* Subjects, and therefore he proposed a supply to be made of twelve Subsidies to suppress that rebellion, and in lieu thereof, he was willing to forbear, and utterly to abolish the Ship-money, which he had reason to think legal, being advised thereunto by *Noy* his Attorney General, who was cryed up to be so great a Clerk in the Law, yet he would not rest there, but he advised further with his learned Council of the Sargeants at Law and others, who concurred in opinion with *Noy*; nor would he rest there, but he had the approbation of all the Judges singly, and afterward of the major part of all the twelve upon a leasurely debate; this he thought sufficient to induce his conscience to hold the thing legal; It was proved that the moneys levied that way were employed to the right use and no other, *viz.* to the guarding of the narrow Seas, and to preserve the Right of his Dominion in them (being the fairest flower of his Crown) which was not only discoursed of abroad, but the French Cardinal was over-heard to question his right that way. And touching the danger that hung over *England*, he alleged, how cold *England* but be in apparent danger, considering how all her Neighbors about her were in actual hostility, which made huge  
Fleets

Fleets of men of War, both *French*, *Dunkerkers*, *Hamburgers*, and *Hollanders*, to appear ever and anon in her channel and hard before her Royal Chambers. He declared further, that not one peny of that public contribution came to his privat Coffers, or was given to any Favorite, but he added much of his own treasure for the maintenance of a Royal Fleet abroad every Summer; yet he was redy to pass any Bill for the abolishing of the said Ship-mony, and redressing of any grievance besides, provided his Parlement would enable him to suppress and chastise the *Scot*. Some say the House was inclinable to comply with the King, but, as the ill spirit wold have it, that Parlement was suddenly broke up, and it had been better for him that they who gave him that counsel had been then in *Arabia*, or beyond the line, in their way to *Madagascar*, yet those men were of high request in the long Parlement afterwards.

The King being reduced to such straights, and resenting still the insolence of the *Scot*, proposed the business to his Privy Council, who suddenly made a considerable sum for his supply, whereunto divers of his domestick servants did contribut; Among others who were active herein, the Earl of *Strafford* bestirred himself notably, who having got a  
Parle-

Parlement to be call'd in *Ireland*, went over, and with incredible celerity raised 8000 men, and procur'd money of the Parlement there to maintain them. An Army was also levied here which marched to the *North*, and there fed upon the Kings pay a whole Summer.

The *Scot* was not idle all this while, but having punctual Intelligence of every thing that passed at Court as far, as what was debated in the Cabinet Council, or spoken of in the Kings Bed-chamber, (where, of the six grooms, five were *Scots*) which was a great advantage unto him, He armed also, and preferring to make *England* the Stage of the War rather than his own Countrey, and to invade rather than to be be invaded, he got ore the *Tweed*, where he found the passage open, and as it were made for him all the way till he came to the River of *Tine*: And though there was a considerable *English* Army of Horse and Foot at *Newcastle*, yet they never offer'd to face the *Scot* all the while. At *Newburg* there was indeed a small skirmish, but the *English* Foot wold not fight; so *Newcastle* Gates flew ope to the *Scot* without any resistance at all, where 'tis thought he had more frends than foes, for all Presbyterians were his Confederats.

The King being advanc'd as far as *York*,  
summond

summond all his Nobles to appeer, and advise with in this Exigence; Commissioners were appointed on both sides, who met at *Rippon*, and how the hearts and courage of som *English* Barons did boyl within their breasts to be brought to so disadvantageous Trety with the *Scot*, you may wel imagine: so the Trety began, which the *Scot* wold not conform himself unto, unless he were first made *Rectus in Curia*, and the Proclamation wherein he was call'd Traytor revokd, alleging how dishonorable it wold be for his Majesty to trete with Rebels. This Trety was then adjourn'd to *London* where the late long Parlement was summond.

*Polyander.*

Truly Sir, I must tell you, that to my knowledge those unhappy traverses with the *Scots* made the *English* suffer much abroad in point of *National* repute; But in this last Expedition of the *Scot*, *England* may be said to have bin bought and sold, considering what a party he had here in Court and Country, specially in the City of *London*. Therefore his coming in then may be call'd rather an *Invitation* than an *Invasion*: as may be said of the *Swed* also lately in *Poland*.

*Philanglus.*

The *Scot* having thus got quietly into a  
Town

Town he never took, and nested himself in Newcastle, Our late long long Parleмент began at *Westminster*: Being conven'd, the King told them that he was resolv'd to cast himself and his affairs wholly upon the affection and fidelity of his people, whereof they were the Representatives; Therefore he wished them to go roundly on to close up the ruptures that were made by that infortunat War, and that the two Armies one English, the other foren, which were gnawing the very bowels of the Kingdom might be both dismissed: Touching grievances of all natures he was ready to redress them, concerning the Shipmoney he was willing to pass a law for the utter abolition of it, and to cancel all the enrollments, therefore he wish'd them not to spend much time about that: For Monopolies, he desired to have a List of them, and he wold damn them all in one Proclamation; Touching ill Counsellors either in White-Hall, or Westminster-Hall, either in Church or State, he was resolved to protect none; Therefore he desired that all jealousies and mis-understandings might vanish, and so concluded with this caution, That they wold be careful how they shook and disjointed the frame of an old settled Government too much, in regard 'twas like a Watch, which being put asunder, can never be made up again if the least pin be left out.

Thus



Thus at the beginning of the Parlement there were great hopes of *Fair weather* after that cold Northern *Storm*, and that we should be rid of the *Scot*, but that was least intended till som designs were brought about; The Earl of *Strafford*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Judges, and divers other are clap'd up, and the Lord Keeper *Finch* took a timely *flight* t'other side of the Sea, with others. And in lieu of these, the Bishop of *Lincoln* is enlarged, *Bastwick*, *Burton* and *Pryn*, who were strong Presbyterians, were brought into *London* with a kinde of *Hosanna*.

*Polyander.*

Is it possible that the lenity of the King should be such as to yeeld to all this?

*Philanglus.*

Yes, and to comply further with them, he took as it were into his bosom, I mean he admitted to his privy Councel, such Parlement Lords who were held the greatest Zelots among them; The Lord *Say* was made Master of the Court of Wards, the Earl of *Essex* Lord Chamberlain, &c. Moreover to give a further evidence how firmly he was rooted in his Religion, and how much he desired the strengthening of it abroad, the Trety of mariage went on twixt his eldest Daughter and the Prince of *Orenge*;

*Orange*; Hereunto may be added as a special Argument of compliance, the passing of the Bill for a *Trienniall* Parlemtent, and lastly he was brought to passe the *Act of Continuance*, which prov'd so fatal unto him.

*Polyander.*

Touching the *Triennial* Parlemtent, I heard of a Prophetic mistake that came from a Lady of honor, who sending news that time to the Countrey, did write, that the King had pass'd a Bill for a *Tyrannical Parlemtent*, whereas she should have said *Triennial*; And touching the Act of Continuance or perpetual Parlemtent, I heard a tale of *Archy* the fool, who, being asked whether the King did well in passing that Bill, answered, *that he knew not whether the King was the greater Fool to grant it, or they the greater knowes to ask it.* But the saying of the late Earl of *Dorset* is remarkable, who saluted the King the next morning with the stile of *fellow Subject*, in regard that by that grant he had transferred both *Crown, Sword and Scepter* to the Parlemtent, for now we may say, that *England* hath four hundred and odd Kings in her: But 'tis observed, that Princes of a hard destiny do follow the worst Counsellis; But Sir, in lieu of these monstrous Acts of Grace and trust, what  
did

did the Parlement all this while for the King?

*Philanglus.*

They promised, specially upon the passing of the last Act, that they wold make him *the most glorious, the best belov'd, and richest King that ever reigned in England*, which promise they voted, and confirmed with the deepest proteſts and asseverations that could be. And hereunto, that the Earl of *Strafford* was passed over unto them, who after a long costly tryal was condemn'd to the Scaffold, and so made a Sacrifice to the *Scot*, (and them) who stay'd chiefly for his head.

*Polyander.*

Touching the Earl of *Strafford*, 'tis true, he was full of ability, courage, and Elocution, yet I heard his wisdom question'd beyond Sea in divers things. First, that having a charge ready against his chiefest Accusers, yet he suffer'd them to take the start of him, and have priority of sute, which if he had got, he had thereby made them parties, and so incapable to proceed against him; Secondly, that during the time of his tryal, he address'd not himself with that compli-  
 ance to his *Jury* as well as to his *Judges*, for he was observ'd to comply only with the *Lords*, and slight the House of Commons;  
 O Lastly,

Lastly, that knowing he had both Parle-  
ment and *Scot* his enemies, as also the *Irish*,  
he wold not go aside a white, and get be-  
yond Sea (which he might have easily don  
from *York*) in lieu of comming up to *Lon-*  
*don*.

*Philanglus.*

I beleeeve his death was resolv'd upon be-  
fore his comming from *York*, if not by or-  
dinary way of justice, yet by way of public  
expedience, which appeers, in regard the  
proceedings against him, was by a clause in  
the Act *not to be produc'd for a leading case,*  
*or example to future ages, and other*  
*inferior Courts*. Good Lord, how the  
rabble of the City thirsted after his  
bloud! who were conniv'd at, and counte-  
nanc'd by Parlement it self to strut up  
and down both before *White-Hall* and  
*Westminster-Hall*, where they cryed out,  
that if the *Common Law* faild, *Club Law*  
shold knock him down; nay, their inso-  
lency was permitted to swell so high, that  
they demanded the names of those Lords  
who wold not doom *Strafford* to death.

*Polyander.*

Is it possible that the grave and solemn  
high Court of Parlement shold permit such  
popular insolencie to be committed under  
their noses?

*Philanglus.*

*Philanglus.*

Yes, and notwithstanding, that the Lords did often solicit the House of Commons to take a course for suppressing them; yet it was not hearkned unto; nay when the King had commanded a double guard of Constables and Watch-men (which is the usual way by law) to attend at *Westminster-Hall*, for suppression of such disorders, the Commons cryed out that it was a *breach of the privileges of the House*, and a trenching upon their liberties; so they took afterwards a band of Soldiers of their own election to guard them, which was never known before, but was point blank not only against the Royal prerogative, but the very fundamental laws of the Land.

*Polyander.*

Me thinks that the Earl of *Strafford* being gone, fair weather should have followd, he who was the cause of the tempest being thus thrown over-board.

'Tis true, the *Scots* were dismiss'd a little after, having had *Fidlers fare, Meat, Drink and Money* for eleven Months together in *England*, with *Straffords* head to boot. So the King prepar'd to go for *Scotland* according to Articles, to hold a Parlement there;

This fill'd the House of Commons with odd kind of jealousie, therefore they cast about how to prevent the journey; so they did beat their brains night and day about it, so far that they sate upon Sunday in debate, but with another proviso, that it shold not be made a *Precedent* for future ages, as the other *Caveat* was for their proceedings against the Earl of *Strafford*. Well, the King went to his *Scots* Parlelament, where he filld every blank, for they did but *ask* and *have* every thing they demanded. He granted them what possibly they could *propone* in point of governing; both for *Kirk* and *State*, many receiv'd new honors, they made havock, and divided all the *Bishops* Lands amongst them; for all which unparalleled concessions and Acts of grace, as an argument of gratitude, they causd an Act (though already in force) to be publish'd and reviv'd, *That it shold be detestable, and damnable treson in the highest degree that could be, for any of the Scots Nation conjunctly or singly to levy Arms, or any Military forces upon any pretext whatsoever, without the Kings Commission*; but how the *Scot* observed this solemn Act afterwards, the World knows too well.

During the Kings being in *Scotland*, that formidable hideous Rebellion in *Ireland* broke

broke out; which the *Irish* impute to the *English* Parleмент, First, in regard that one of their accusations against *Strafford* was that he used the Papists in that Kingdom too favourably; Secondly, for the rigorous proceedings intended by the said Parleмент against the *English* Catholicks; Thirdly, for design the *English* Parleмент had to bring the *Dutch*, and the *Scot* to plant in *Ireland*, the last of whom the *Irish* do hate in perfection above all other Nations; and Lastly, the stopping of that *Irish* Regiment of casheered Souldiers, which the King promised by royal word and letter to the King of *Spain*, which Regiment lying upon that employment that was denied them afterwards by order from the *English* Parleмент, rather than to begg, steal, or starve, they turn'd Rebels, and so broke out into that desperat Commotion.

*Polyander.*

Indeed, I heard that Act of staying the *Irish* forces much censur'd abroad, to the dishonour of the King of *England*, and reproach of the Parleмент, considering how the Marquis de *Velada*, and *Malvezzi*, and *Don Alonzo de Cardenas*, who were all three Ambassadors here for the King of *Spain* at that time, having by dependence upon the sacred word, and Letter of a King, im-

prest money, and provided shipping for their transport, which came to a great charge; but I pray be pleased to proceed.

*Philanglus.*

The King having settled Scotland, was at his return to London received with much joy, but though he was brought with a kind of *Hofanna* into one end of the town, he found a *Crausige* at the other; for at Westminster there was a *Remonstrance* fram'd, a work of many weeks, and voted in the dead of night, when most of the moderat, and well-minded members were retir'd to their rest; In which Remonstrance, with as much industry and artifice as could be, all the old moats in government were expos'd to public view from the first day of the Kings inauguration to that very hour.

*Polyander.*

How could this agree with the *Protestation* the House did make formerly to the King, to make him the best beloved that ever was? I thought that before his going to Scotland he had redressed all grievances by those Acts of grace you spcak of before.

*Philanglus.*

So he had, and he rested not there, but complied further with the House, by condescending to an Act for putting down the *Star-Chamber Court*, the *High Commission Court*,



*Courts*, the Court of *Honor*, nay he was contented that his *Privy* Council should be regulated, and his *Forests* bounded not according to *ancient prerogative*, but *late custom*; Nay further, he passed a Bill for the unvoting and utter exclusion of the *spirituall* Lords from the Parleмент for ever: Add hereunto, that having placed two worthy Gentlemen *Lieutenants* of the Tower, he remov'd them one after the other, to content the House, and put in one of their Election: Lastly, he trusted them with his *Navy Royal*, and call'd home at their motion Sir *J. Penington* who had then the gard of the narrow Seas.

*Polyander.*

I never remember to have heard or read of such notable Concessions from any King; but how came the Bishops to be so tumbled out?

*Philanglus.*

The City rable were still conniv'd at to be about *Westminster-Hall*, where they offered some out-rages to the Bishops as they went into the House; hereupon they presented a Petition to the King and Parlement, that they might be secur'd to repair thither to discharge their duties according to the Laws of the Land: In which Petition for the preservation of their Right, there

was an humble protest or *Caveat*, that no *Act* should passe, or be valid without them; This Petition, both for matter and form was much excepted against, and cryed up to be high *Treson*, so twelve of the old Bishops were hurried to the Tower, which became a *Limbo Patrum* for the time; but som of the knowingest Lawyers being consulted withall, whether this was *Treson* in the Bishops or no, they answered, that it might be call'd *Adultery* as much as *Treson*: so after many moneths imprisonment, the charge of *Treson* being declin'd against them, they were released in the morning, but coop'd up again in the afternoon, then they were restor'd to a conditional liberty touching their persons, but to be eternally excluded out of the House, which made one of them in a kinde of Prophetic way, to tell one of the *Temporal Peers*, *My Lord, you see how we are voted out of the House, and the next turn will be yours*, which prov'd true.

*Polyander.*

I remember when I was at *York*, a Gentleman shew'd me a fair old manuscript of som things passed in *Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>* time; and one passage among the rest sticks in my memory, how cardinal *Wolsey* being sick at *Leicester*, the King sent Sir *John Kingston*

to comfort him; to whom he answered, Oh! Sir John, 'tis now too late to receive any earthly comfort, but remember *my most humble allegiance to the King, and tell him this story from a dying man; The Bohemians repining at the Hierarchy of the Church, put down Bishops, but what followed? then the Comunalty insulted over the Nobility, and afterwards the King himself was depos'd, so the Government grew a while to be meerly popular, but then it turn'd from a Succesive to be an Elective Kingdom; This said he, will be the fate of England unless the King bear up the reverence due to the Church, and so I pray God that his Majesty may find more mercy at the tribunall of Heaven, than I have upon that of Earth; But pray Sir be pleas'd to proceed.*

*Philanglus.*

The Parlement having the Navy at their disposing, (which they found to be in an excellent equipage, gramercy *Shipmony*) and having chosen the Earl of *Warwick* Commander in Chief, notwithstanding the King excepted against him, They demand all the Land Souldiers, and Military strength of the Kingdom to be manag'd by them, and to be put in what posture, and under what Commanders they pleas'd; But the King answer'd that he wold consider of this, and it was the first thing that he ever denyed them,

them, yet at last he was contented to grant them this also *for a limited time*; but that wold not serve the turn: Hereupon growing sensible how they inch'd every day more and more upon the Royall *Prerogatives* He thought 'twas high time for him to look to himself: And intending with some of his meniall servants only to go to *Hull* to see a Magazin of *Ammunition* which he had bought with his own trefure, he was in a hostile manner kept out, the Gates shut against him, Canons mounted, Pistols cock'd and level'd at him, and there, the Kings party said, the Warre first began.

*Polyander.*

A hard destiny it was for a King to lose the love of so many of his subjects in that manner, and to fall a clashing with his great Council; but, under favor, that demand of the Militia was somewhat too high: in regard that every soverain Prince, and chief Governor hath an *inherent* and inalienable right in the common strength of the Country, for though the peeples love be a good Citradell, yet there must be a concurrence of some outward visible force besides, which no earthly power may dispose of without his command, and for him to transmit this power to any other, specially to any that he mistrusts, is the only way to render him  
in-

inglorious, unsafe, and despicable both at home and abroad; you know in the Fable when the Lion patted with his paws, and the Eagle with her talons, how contemptible the one grew among all beasts, and the other among all birds.

The *Scepter* and the *Crown* are but bables without a *Sword* to support them. There's none so simple as to think there's meant hereby an ordinary single *Sword*, such as every one carryeth at his side, no, 'tis the *publick* Polemicall *Sword* of the whole Kingdom, 'tis an aggregative compound *Sword*, and 'tis moulded of Bell-metall, for 'tis made up of all the Ammunition and Arms small and great, of all the Military strength both by Land and Sea, of all the Forts, Castles, and tenable places within and without the whole Country: The Kings of *England* have had this *Sword* by vertue of their *Royall Signory*, as the Law sayth, from all times, the Prerogative hath girded it to their sides, they have employed it for repelling of forren force, for revenging of all Nationall wrongs or affronts, for quelling all intestine tumults; The people were never capable of this *Sword*, the fundamentall constitutions of this Land deny it them; 'Tis all one to put a *Sword* in a mad mans hand as in the peoples; Nor  
under

under favor, can the supreme Governor transfer this Sword to any other, for that were to desert the *protection* of his people, which is point blank against his Oath and Office; but I crave your pardon again that I have detain'd you so long from the pursuit of your former discours.

*Philanglus.*

The King being so *shut out* of one Town (I mean *Kingston upon Hull*) he might suspect that an attempt might be made to *shut him in* within some other; Therefore he made a motion to the *Tork-shire* Gentlemen to have a Gard for the preservation of his Person, in imitation of the Parle-ment, who had taken a kind of choice *Prætorian* band many moneths before for their safe-gard, though without the Royall consent: The *Northern* men came cheerfully to this service; wherewith the Parle-ment being not well pleas'd, they interdicted all trade to *Newcastle*, and that might be call'd the second cause of the war.

But I must make a step back; when the King was return'd from *Scotland*, he retir'd to *Hampton Court*, yet upon the Lord Maiors and Cities sollicitation, he came back to *White-hall*, to keep his *Christmas*: But when the Bill against Bishops was in agitation, which lasted above ten moneths, and  
was

was *twice cast out* of the House of Peers, a crue of bold sturdy mechanicks, Mariners, and Tarpawlings came from the City, and ruffled again before *White-hall* and *Westminster-hall*, and would have violated the *Abbey of Westminster*, before the Parlements face, so that for many nights a Court of Gard was forc'd to be kept in the body of that Church.

The King finding such distempers still in the Parlement, and knowing the chiefest Authors of them whom he had impeach'd before, but cold get no justice against them in an ordinary way, though he had desired the Parlement to direct him in a cours how to go on in the Empeachment in such extremity, for desperat diseases requiring desperat cures, He took the *Palsgrave* with him, and making use of the next Coach he met with at the Court gate, he went to the House of Commons in Person to demand five Members, which he would prove to be Traytors in the highest degree, and to be the fomentors of all these divisions, protesting unto them upon the word of a King, that they shold have as fair and legall a Triall as ever men had ; in the interim, he desir'd only that their persons might be secur'd ; The Walls of both Houses, and the very stones of *London* streets did seem to  
ring

ring of this high carriage of the Kings, and the sound thereof went far and neer into the adjacent Countries, whence the Plebeians (by incitement of some of the Members) came in whole heards to the City, and strutting up and down the Streets, had nothing in their mouths but *privilege of Parlements*, *privilege of Parlements*.

*Polyander.*

Yet as I observ'd in your discourses before, Queen *Elizabeth*, though she was so popular, and such a minion of Parlements, did the like, and far higher things. But now that you have given a touch of the *Falsgrave*, I remember a *Manifesto* of that Parlement, which they pass'd and publish'd in favor of his restitution, which was laugh'd and libell'd at in *Germany*.

*Philanglus.*

'Tis true, the King went in state one day to the Parlement in his behalf, where he declar'd unto them the whole business, and because he doubted that Sir *Thomas Roe* his Ambassador should have but sorry success in the Diet which was then held in *Germany*, in regard he understood of an *Amnestia* to come forth, whence the Prince Palatine was excluded, He desir'd the two Houses to joyn with him in a public *Manifesto*. The Parlement did cheerfully approve here-  
of,



of, praying that *Scotland* wold joyn with them: The *Manifesto* consisted of two parts or protestations, one against all Acts whatsoever that shold passe in the Imperiall *Diet* in prejudice to the *Palatin*; The other, that the King and Parleмент of Great *Britain* were resolv'd to espouse his quarrell; but this business was little thought of afterwards.

The King, as I told you before, having gone to the House of Commons himself to demand those Members, it happen'd none of them were there, but retir'd to *London* for refuge, the House having had notice of the design from Marquis *Hamilton*, who was us'd to reveal unto them whatsoever was intended at Court.

*Polyander.*

It may well be said then, that the unfortunate King had greater Traytors within doores, then abroad; but it concern'd *Hamilton*, with *Holland*, and others to keep in with the *House*, because they were the chiefest *Monopolizers*; together with another Lord, who, in regard his son was so great a Zealot in the upper House, was permitted to keep a kind of Office to compound for his corruption, and briberies, whereof there were above forty prov'd against him, yet he escap'd without any punishment at all, or least mark of infamy.

*Phr*

*Philanglus.*

Well Sir; The *Londoners*, as I told you, grew stark wild when they heard of this attempt of the Kings, and the Countrys about, specially *Essex* and *Buckinghamshire* men being incited by *Hamden* their Ring-leader, (who was kill'd afterwards upon the same turf of earth where he call'd the peeple together) came in great swarms to Town, and joyning with the City and *Suburbian* rabble, they brought the *five Members* the next day to the House in a kind of triumph, being garded by water as well as by land by such companions. A little after, sundry Troops of Countrey horse came, who instead of Feathers or Ribbands carryed a paper-*Protestation* in their Hats, as the *Londoners* had done a little before upon their Pikes point.

*Polyander.*

I heard much of the said *Protestation*, but I pray oblige me to tell what it was.

*Philanglus.*

It consisted of many parts, being penn'd and enjoyn'd by the Parlement for every one to take; The first part was to maintain the true Protestant Religion against all Popish Innovations (but no other.) The second was to maintain the Person, Prerogative, and honour of the King. The third, The Privilege and power of Parlement. And lastly, the propriety and liberty of the Subject.

Pe-

*Philanglus.*

The King being settled at York, the Parliament still move him to have the disposing of the *Militia*, and not to be limited to any time, which he denyed, for he was loth to be disarm'd, and part with his Sword; Therefore he put forth his Commissions of Array according to the old Law of *England*, which declares it to be the *undoubted Right, and Royall signory of the King, to arm or disarm any Subject.*

The Parlement send out Counter-com-  
mands

mands for the executing the said *Militia*, so by this clash 'twixt the Commission of *Array* and the *Militia*, the chief flash of that cruel, and cruentous civil War may be said to have broke out. A close Committee was appointed at *Westminster*, which was mix'd of Lords and Commons, and I cannot tell how many Rurall, and subaltern Committees of mean mechanicall men, who stood higher a tip-toe in conventing Lords and Knights before them (*proh pudor*) than the Parlement members themselves; An Admiral also was sent to Sea, against whom the King excepted.

*Polyander.*

That was strange, considering how oft the King had complied with them that way, having at their request remov'd two Lieutenants of the Tower, and taken one of their Election, having remov'd the Governor about his Son, and taken one of their choice, having remov'd Sir *Thomas Glenham* from *Hull*, and nominated *Hotham*, &c.

*Philanglus.*

The *Presbyterians*, who had brought in the *Scotts Army* before, and were the activest men in these distempers, cryed out that the whole Kingdom was like to be ruin'd by secret Plots and machinations; That there was a design to bring in the *Pope*, and to cast  
the

the civil Government into a *French frame*, &c. whereof they made the *Pulpits* to ring up and down; nor did the *Pulpit* only help to kindle this fire, but the *Press* also did contribute much thereunto, dangers and jealousies, and a kind of *superfatation* of created fears did daily encrease in every corner, and as the Poet sings,

—*Traduntq; metum, nec poscitur Author.*

*Poljander.*

There be sundry sorts of fears; There are *Conscientious* Fears, there are *panick* fears, there are *pusillanimous* fears, and there are *politick* fears; The first proceeds from guilt of conscience, which turns oft to phrensie; The second fear may be call'd a kind of *Chymera*, 'tis som sudden surprizal or consternation proceeding from no true grounds; *Pusillanimous* fear makes a mountain of a Mole-hill, it proceeds from poverty of spirit, and want of courage, and is a passion of abject, and degenerate minds, and is call'd cowardize; *Politick* fear is a created forg'd fear wrought in another to bring som design about; And as we find the Astronomers (as is said elsewhere) do imagin such and such shapes and circles in the Heavens, as the *Zodiac*, *Equinoctiall*, *Colures*, *Tropiques*, and others, though there be no such things really in nature, to verifie and make their conclusions good; so the Statist doth

often devise and invent imaginary fears to make his proceedings the more plausible, and thereby to compass his ends. Or as the Sun useth to appear far bigger in the morning and evening, than at noon, when he is exalted to his Meridian, and the reason the Philosophers use to give is the interposition of the vapors and exhalations, which are in the lower Region of the aer through which we look upon him, (as we find a piece of Silver look bigger in a Bucket or Basen of water than els where) so the Politician useth to cast strange mists of fears, and fogs of jealousie before the simple peeples eyes, to make dangers seem bigger. It is observ'd that the *Torpedo* fish when he fears to be catch'd, useth to disgorge an Inky black froth, to puddle and darken the water that he may not be seen, and so avoids taking; so one trick of a Statist when he goes a fishing after some ends of his own, is to cast out before the eyes of the credulous vulgar strange mists, and apprehensions of fears and dangers, that they may scape in them if need be: But I pray deal cleerly with me, was there a design to bring in the *Masse* again, as the *Presbyterians* cryed out?

*Philanglus.*

The *Masse*! you may say there was a plot to bring in *Mabomet* as soon, to bring in the

*Alch-*

*Alchoran*, or *Talmud* as soon; yet I beleev<sup>e</sup> there was a pernicious plot to bring in a new Religion, but what Religion I pray? it was not *Popery* but *Presbytery*, and with it to usher in *Buchannan* and *Knox*, and so to cast out Church, and State into a *Scots* mould; Nor was it enough for those fatuous fiery *Scots* Kirkmen, and Parliamentary preachmen in *England*, to traduce and belie their Sovereign Prince at home, but malicious Informations, and that by Authority were sent to most of the Reformed Churches abroad, to asperse and brand him in this point; Whereupon issued out this following Royal Manifesto, in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, (which businesse was manag'd by the care of the Author of this present Treatise) to disabuse and rectifie the world, and for the vindication of his Majesty herein.

CHARLES by the providence of Almighty God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all those who profess the true, Reformed, Protestant Religion, of what Nation, degree and condition soever they be to whom this present Declaration shall come, greeting.

Whereas we are given to understand that many false rumors, and scandalous Letters are spread up and down amongst the reformed Churches

in forren parts, by the politique or rather the pernicious industry of some ill affected persons, that we have an inclination to recede from that Orthodox Religion, which we were born, baptized, and bred in, and which we have firmly professed and practised throughout the whole cours of our life to this moment, and that we intend to give way to the introduction and publick exercise of Popery again in our Dominions: Which conjectures, or rather most detestable calumny, being groundd upon no imaginable foundation, hath rais'd these horrid tumults and more then barbarous wars throughout this flourishing Island, under pretence of a kind of Reformation, which would not only prove incongruous, but incompatible with the fundamental Lawes and Government of this Kingdom. We desire that the whole Christian world should take notice, and rest assured, that we never entertain'd in our imagination the least thought to attempt such a thing, or to depart a jot from that holy Religion, which, when we receiv'd the Crown and Scepter of this Kingdom, we took a most solemn Sacramentall Oath to profess and protect, nor doth our most constant practise and quotidian visible presence in the exercise of this sole Religion, with so many Asseverations in the head of our Armies, and the publique attestations of our Barons, with the circumspection us'd in the education of our Royal Offspring,



Offspring, besides divers other undeniable arguments, only demonstrate this, but also that happy alliance of marriage, we contracted lately 'twixt our eldest Daughter, and the illustrious Prince of Orange, most clearly confirms the reality of our intentions herein, by which Nuptiall engagement it appears further, that our endeavours are not only to make a bare profession thereof in our own Dominions, but to enlarge and corroborate it abroad, as much as lieth in our power: This most holy Religion of the Anglican Church, ordain'd by so many Convocations of learned Divines, confirmed by so many Acts of Nationall Parlements, and strengthened by so many Royal Proclamations, together with the Ecclesiastique Discipline and Liturgie thereunto appertaining. which Liturgy and Discipline, the most eminent of Protestant Authors, as well Germans as French, as well Danes as Sweds and Switzers, as well Belgians as Bohemians, do with many Elogies, and not without a kind of envy, approve and applaud in their publique writings, particularly in the transactions of the Synod of Dort, wherein besides other of our Divines (who afterwards were Prelats) one of our Bishops assisted, to whose dignity all due respects and precedency was given; This Religion, we say, which our Royall Father of blessed memory doth publicquely assert in that his famous Confession address'd (as we also do this our Protestation) to all Christian Princes; This, this most

holy Religion, with the Hierarchy and Liturgy thereof, we solemnly protest, that by the help of Almighty God we will endeavour, to our utmost power, and last period of our life to keep intire and inviolable, and will be carefull, according to our duty to Heaven, and the tenor of the foresaid most sacred Oath at our Coronation, that all our Ecclesiastiques in their severall degrees and incumbences shall preach and practise the same; Wherefore we injoyn and command all our Ministers of State beyond the Seas, aswell Ambassadors as Residents, Agents and Messengers, and we desire all the rest of our loving Subjects that sojourn either for Curiosity or Commerce in any forren parts, to communicate, uphold and assert this our solemn and sincere Protestation when opportunity of time and place shall be offered.

*Polyander.*

This sounds as a strong and thorough Vindication, but touching your compliances with the *Scots*, I must tell you that I heard the *English* much censur'd, and under-valued abroad for inslaving as it were their understandings and judgements in point of Religion to the *Scots*, whom they made Christians, and Reformed Christians first; And now for the *English* to run to them for a Religion, what a disparagement think you is it? But you spoke before of an Empeachment;

peachment of high Treson the King had against the five Members, for which he desir'd only the benefit of the Law, I pray what was that Treson?

*Philanglus.*

The main charge of Treson that was intended to be exhibited against them, was the privat Intelligence, and combinations they held with a forren Nation, and to have been the prime Instruments of bringing in the *Scots* Army, which had don so much mischief to *England*, and was dismissed upon such inglorious terms, for besides the plunder they got, they had a vast sum of trespure to be gone; which was not the usual way that our Progenitors us'd in dealing with the *Scot*, for in former times *England* was wont to pay the *Scot* his Ar-rears (when he came to visit her borders) in another kind of mettall, *viz. with good Iron and Steel*, not with *Gold and Silver*, but she hath soundly reveng'd her self since for the insolencies of that hungry Nation: But to proceed,

The *Hierarchy*, and *English Liturgy* being voted down, there was a general liberty given to all consciences in point of Religion; The Taylor and Shoo-maker might have cut out what Religion they pleas'd; The Vintner and Tapster might have  
broach'd

*breach'd* what Religion they pleas'd; The *Druggist* and *Apothecary* might have mingled her as they pleas'd; The *Haberdasher* might have put her upon what *block* he pleas'd; The *Armorer* and *Cutler* might have *surbisd* Her as they pleas'd; The *Dier* might have put what *colour*, the *Painter* what *face* they pleas'd upon Her; The *Draper* and *Mercer* might have *mesur'd* Her as they pleas'd; The *Weaver* might have cast Her upon what *Loom* he pleas'd; The *Boat-swain* and *Mariner* might have brought Her to what *Dock* they pleas'd; The *Barber* might have *Trim'd* her as he pleas'd; The *Gardner* might have *Lopp'd* her as he pleas'd; The *Black-smith* might have *forg'd* what Religion he pleas'd, And so every one according to his profession and fancy was tolerated to form what Religion he pleas'd, as was observed elsewhere.

*Polyander.*

Indeed I was told often beyond the Seas that the *Liberty of the Gospel*, and the *Liberty of the People*, wer the two things which wer mainly aim'd at, but how did the War begin?

*Philanglus.*

I told you before, that besides other causes the clashing of the *Militia*, with the Commission of *Array*, did put all things in dis-

disarray throughout the whole Kingdom, many Declarations came from the King, but they were prohibited at last to be published, and the Printers punished. A little after the Parlement voted an Army to take away ill Councillors from about the Kings person, and the Earl of *Essex* was appointed General, with whom they voted *to live and die, to stand and fall.*

*Polyander.*

Me thinks that Lord was not so proper for the service, in regard his Father before him lost his head upon the like occasion for offering to amove ill Councillors from about Queen *Elizabeth* by violence; but I beleeve he might have a privat quarrel of his own with the Court, in that his first wife was Articled, and sentenc'd away from him, and married to a *Scotch man* whom he much hated, in King *James* his time, who made a deep asseveration, that if any thing was amisse in that divorce, he wish'd it might light upon his own Soul; but I pray be pleas'd to go on.

*Philanglus.*

The King understanding that the Parlement did thus arm, he was told that it was not fit for him to be idle, so having levied som Forces in the North, he marched with them to *Nottingham*, where he set up  
and

and displayed the Royal Standard, but the Beam thereof by a gust of wind towards the evening was broke, which was held an ill augury.

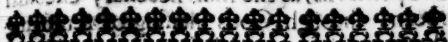
*Polyander.*

I heard by some of those that were then on the place that the King had not 4000 effectif fighting men, when he put up his Standard, and the Parlemt had an Army of above 15000 in a compleat body, and upon their march about *Northampton*, therefore I heard it censured a great oversight in the *Parlemt* that they did not in order their General, to find out the King then at *Nottingham*, where he might have either taken him prisoner or forc'd him to fly with his little confus'd Army: but I pray pursue your discours.

*Philanglus.*

I must again step a little back, and inform you, as that Army of the Parlements was a levying, these Propositions were sent to the King, with a complemental Introduction, which because they are of a very high nature, I will particularly relate unto you, the preamble was this.

WEE


**W**EE your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects, having nothing in our thoughts and desires more precious, and of higher esteem, next to the honor and immediat service of God, than the just and faithful performance of our duty to your Majesty and this Kingdom; And being sensible of the great distractions and distempers, and of the imminent dangers, and calamities, which the said distractions and distempers are like to bring upon your Majestie and your Subjects, all which have proceeded from the subtilse informations, mischievous practises, and ill counsels of men disaffected to Gods true Religion, your Majesties honor and safety, and the public peace and prosperity of your people. After a serious observation of the causes of these mischiefs. We do in all humility and sincerity present to your Majesty our most humble Petition and advice, that out of your Princely wisdom for the establishing of your own honor and safety, and gracious tenderness of the welfare and security of your Subjects and Dominions, You will be pleased to grant and accept these our humble desires, and

Pro-

Propositions, as the most necessary effectual means through Gods blessing of removing those jealousies, and differences which have unhappily fallen twixt you and your people, and for procuring both your Majesty and them a constant course of honor, peace and happiness:

1. That those of your Privy Council, and such great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the Seas, may be put from about you, and from those Offices and employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by Parliament; And that the persons put into the places and employments of those that be remov'd, may be approv'd of by Parliament; And that all Privy Counsellors shall take an Oth for the due execution of their places as shall be agreed upon by Parliament.

2. That the great affairs of the Land may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by unknown, and unsworn Counsellors, but that such matters that concern the public and are proper for high Assemblies, which is your Majesties great and supreme Council, may be debated, resolved, and transacted here, and no where else, and such as shall presume to do anything to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgement of Parliament; And such other matters of State, as are proper for your Privy Council, shall be



be debated, and concluded by such, as shall from time to time be chosen for that place by approbation of Parliament; And that no public Act concerning the affairs of the Land which are proper for your Privy Council, may be esteemed of any validity as proceeding from Royal authority, unless it be don by the advice and consent of the major part of your Council; And that your Council be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen; And if any Counsellors place happen to be void in the intervals of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the consent of the major part of the council, which voice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That all the great Officers of State and civil Justice, as also your Secretaries, may be chosen with the approbation of Parliament, and in the intervals as formerly.

4. That He or they, to whom the Government, and Education of the Royal Issue shall be committed, shall be approv'd by Parliament, and in the intervals as formerly; And that all such Servants which are now about them, against whom the Parliament shall have any just exception, shall be remov'd.

5. That no Alliance of any of the Royal Issue, by way of marriage, shall be concluded or treated with any foren Prince, or other person whatsoever, at home or abroad, without consent of Parliament,  
under

under the penalty of a Præmunire unto such as shall conclude or treat of any such Alliance; And the said penaltie shall not be pardoned or dispensed with, but by consent of Parlement.

6. That the Laws in force against Papists be strictly put in execution without any toleration or dispensation to the contrary; And that some more effectual cours be enacted to disable them from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by trusts or otherwise.

7. That the Votes of all Papists in the upper House may be taken away as long as they continue Papists, and that such a Bill be drawn for the Education of their children in the Reformed Religion.

8. That your Majesty will be pleas'd to consent, that such a Reformation be made of the Church-government, as the Parlement shall advise of; and that your Majesty will contribute your best assistance for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom; And that your Majesty will be pleas'd to give your consent to Laws, for the taking away of Innovations and Superstition, and Pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.

9. That your Majesty will be pleas'd to rest satisfied with that cours the Parlement hath appointed for ordering the Militia, until the same shall be further settled by Bill: And that your Majesty will recal your Declarations, and Proclamations

tions against the Ordinance made by the Parleмент concerning it.

10. That such Lords and Gentlemen that are Members of the House, which have been put out of any place or Office, may either be restor'd, or have satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of the Court, whereof he or they are Members.

11. That all Privy Councillors and Judges take Oth, the form whereof to be agreed upon, and settled in Parleмент, for the maintenance of the Petition of Right, of certain Statutes made by this Parleмент; And that an Inquiry of all the breaches and violations of those Laws may be given in charge by the chief Judges, to be presented and punished according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers plac'd by approbation of Parleмент may hold their places, quam diu se benè gesserint.

13. That the Justice of Parleмент may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled without it; And that all persons cited by either Court, may appeer and abide the censure of Parlement.

14. That the General pardon offer'd by your Majesty may be granted with such exceptions as shall be advis'd of by the Parlement.

15. That the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom be put under the command and custody of such as your Majesty shall appoint, with the approbation of your great Councel, and in the interval with  
I the

the Major part of your privy Councel, as formerly.

16. That the extraordinary garrd, and Military forces now attending your Majesty, be remov'd and discharged, and that for the future, that you will raise no such Garrds or extraordinary forces but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion or invasion.

17. That your Majesty will be pleas'd to enter in a more strict league with the Hollanders, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Reformed Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof against all designes and attempts of the Pope and his adherents, to subvert and suppress it, whereby your Majesty will obtain a great access of strength, and reputation, and your Subjects much encouraged and inabled in a Parliamentary way for your aid and assistance in restoring the Queen of Bohemia, and her Princely Issue, to those Dignities and Dominions that belong to them, and releeving the other reform'd distressed Princes, who have suffer'd in the same cause.

18. That your Majesty will be pleas'd to clem by a Parliamentary Act those Members you have impeached, in such a manner, that future Parliaments may be secur'd from the consequence of ill Presidents.

19. That your Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to pass a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter, from sitting or voting in Parlemtent, unless they be admitted therewnto by consent of both Houses.

And

And these our humble desires being granted by your Majesty, we shall forthwith apply our selves to regular your present Revenue in such sort as may be to your best advantage, and likewise to settle such an ordinary, and constant encrease of it, as shall be sufficient to support your Royal dignity in honor and plenty, beyond the Proportion of any former grants of the Subjects of this Kingdom to your Majesties Royal Predecessors ; We shall likewise put the Town of *Hull* into such hands that your Majesty shall appoint, with the consent, and approbation of Parleмент, and deliver up a just account of all the Magazin, and cheerfully employ the utmost of our endeavors in the real expression and performance of our dutiful and loyal affections, to the preserving and maintaining of the Royal honor, greatness, and safety of your Majesty, and your posterity.

*Polyander.*

How did these Propositions relish ? they run in a very high strain, though the preamble and conclusion breath a great deal of humility and alleageance. In so much that those Proposals might be said to be as so many *Nettles* twixt the two *Roses*.

*Philanglus.*

The King receiv'd these propofals with a kind of indignation, faying, That he was worthy to be a King no longer over them, if he fhould ftoop fo low; fom alleg'd that the very propounding of them was Trefon in the higheft degree, for they ftruck at the very root and foundation of all Royal authority, therefore the condefcending to them, wold render him a King of clowts, and fit to be hooted at by all his Neighbor Princes.

*Polyander.*

The world was much amaz'd abroad that the Peers fhould concur in paffing fuch Propofals, confidering how their honor muft ftand and fall with the Royal Prerogative; well Sir, on.

*Philanglus.*

You muft think Sir, that one part of four of the Lords were not there, the reft were with the King, who flighting thofe *nineteen* Propofitions (an *unluckie* number) made the pulfe of the Parlement to beat higher, and to publish to the world a new Declaration, the fubftance whereof was,

*That the Parlement hath an absolute power of declaring the Law, and whatfoever they declare is not to be questioned by King, Ma-  
gistr*

gistrat or Subject; That no Precedents can bound or limit their proceedings; That they may dispose of any thing wherein King or Subject hath any right for the public good, wherefore they may be Judges without Royall assent; That none of their Members ought to be molested or meddled withall for Treson, Felony, or any other crime, unlesse the cause be brought before them to judge of the fact; That the Soverain power resides in them; That levying of War against the command of the King, though his person be present, is no levying of War against the King, but the levying of War against his politic Person and Laws, that is the only levying War against the King.

*Polyander.*

It was not the first time that this new kind of *Metaphysic* was found out to abstract the person of the King from his Office, and make him have two capacities, *privat* and *politic*, for the same *Metaphysic* was made use of in *Edward the seconds* Reign, but it was exploded, and declar'd by Act of Parliament afterwards to be detestable, and damnable Treson; This were to make Sovereignty, (by separating it from the person) to be a kind of *Platonic Idea* hovering in the aer, to make a King a strange kind of *Amphibium*, to make at the same instant a

King and no King of the same *Individuum*, a power which the *Casuits* affirm God Almighty never assumed to himself to do any thing that *implies contradiction*.

*Philanglus.*

The Parlement or rather the *Presbyterian* Army (for the *Presbyters* sat then at the helm) increas'd daily, and things being at such a desperat point, ther wer two choise Earls (*Southampton* and *Dorset*) sent from *Notingham* with this pathetic letter of the Kings to the Parlement.

*WE* have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the distraction of this our Kingdom: Our very soul is full of anguish untill we may find som remedy to prevent the miseries which are redy to overwhelm this whole Nation by civil war, And though all our endeavors tending to the composing of those unhappy differences twixt us and our Parlement, though pursued by us with all Zeal, and sincerity have bin hitherto without the success we hoped for, yet such is our earnest and constant care to preserve the public peace, that we shall not be discouraged from using any expedient, which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happiness to our good Subjects; To this end observing many mistakes have arisen by the *Mediation*

*Petition*



Petitions and answers betwixt us, and our great Councel, which haply may be prevented by som other way of Trety, wherein the matters in difference may be cleerly understood, and more freely transacted, We have thought fit to propound unto you that som fit persons may be by you inabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by us, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion which all good peeple desire, viz. The peace of the Kingdom, wherin as we promise in the word of a King all safety and encouragement to them, who shall be sent unto us if ye will choose the place we are to meet for the TRET, which we wholly leave unto you, presuming the like care of the safety of those we shall employ if you shall name an other place. So we assure you, and all our good Subjects, that to the best of our understanding, nothing shall be wanting on our part, which may advance the true Reformed Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land, upon which is built as well our just prerogative, as the propriety and liberty of the Subject, confirm all just power and privileges of Parlement, and render us a peeple truly happy by a true understanding twixt us and our great Councel; bring with you as firm a resolution to do your duty, and let our peeple joyn with us in prayer

to Almighty God for his blessing upon this work.

If this proposition be rejected by you, we have don our duty so amply, that God will absolve us from the guilt of any of that blood which shall be spilt; And whatsoever opinion other men may have of our power, we assure you that nothing but our pious and Christian care to prevent the effusion of blood hath begot this motion in us. Our provision of men, Armies and Money being such as may secure us from violence till it please God to open the Eyes of our people.

*Polyander.*

What impressions did this Letter make, for it promis'd much?

*Philanglus.*

It made little or none at all, though it was all written with the Kings own hands for the Parlement was formerly nettled at a Declaration he had sent, when having made a motion to go himself in person to suppress the *Irish* Rebels (which attempt the *Scotts* approv'd of, and highly applauded) but being not lik'd by the *English* Parlement he replied unto them, to this effect.

“When we recommended the reduci-  
 “on of *Ireland* to you, we intended not to  
 “exclude our self, or not to be concern'd

“in

"in your Councils, but that if there were  
 "any expedient which in our Conscience  
 "and understanding we thought neces-  
 "sary for that great work, we might put  
 "it in practise; We look upon you, as  
 "our Great Council, whose advice we al-  
 "wayes have and will with great regard  
 "and deliberation weigh and consider of, but  
 "we look upon our self as neither depriv'd  
 "of our understanding, or devested of any  
 "right we had, were there no Parlement at  
 "all sitting; We call'd you together by our  
 "own Royall Writ and authority (without  
 "which you could not have met) to give  
 "us faithfull Councell about our great  
 "affairs, but we resign'd not hereby our in-  
 "terest and freedom, we never subjected  
 "our self to your absolut determination;  
 "we have alwayes weigh'd your Council  
 "as from a body intrusted by us, and when  
 "we have dissented from you, we have re-  
 "turn'd you the reasons which had pre-  
 "vail'd with our understanding and con-  
 "science, and with such candor, that a  
 "Prince shold use towards his Subjects, and  
 "with that affection a Father shold express  
 "to his Children; What applications have  
 "been us'd to rectifie our understanding by  
 "reasons, and what motives have bin given  
 "by you to perswade our affections, we leave  
 "the

“the world to judge; Moreover, we must not  
 “forget to tell you, however a major part  
 “may bind you in matter of opinion, We  
 “hold our self (and we are sure, the Laws  
 “and constitutions of the Kingdom hath  
 “always held the same) as free to dissent,  
 “till our Reson be convinc’d for the gene-  
 “rall good, as if you deliver’d no opinion.

“When we summon’d you first together,  
 “we did not intend to put the reigns of all  
 “Rule and Reson into your hands, and by  
 “a kind of blind brutish formality, and  
 “unprincely simpleness to assent to every  
 “thing without examining our own Con-  
 “science and judgment which yet never  
 “pleas’d us more than when they concurr’d  
 “with yours, This were to bring us back  
 “to a nonage, now that we are come long  
 “since to the perfect growth of discretion;  
 “you must not think to take from us the  
 “Mastery and use of our innated reson, and  
 “the dictats of our own conscience, or  
 “that we will raise a Tempest at home,  
 “within our brest, to calm a storm a-  
 “broad; In fine, we call’d you together, to  
 “propound, not to give Law, to be our  
 “Councillors, not our Controullers, for Coun-  
 “sell degenerats from the nature of Councill  
 “when ’tis coercive. Nor shall we ever en-  
 “feeble our regall power, or suffer it to  
 be

"be invaded so far as to give way, that a-  
 "ny Ordinance or Omnipotency of Votes,  
 "shall be able to suspend an *Act*, already in  
 "force without our assent; To conclude,  
 "as we firmly resolve to make the Law the  
 "measure of our actions, so we expect it should  
 "be also the *Rule* of your obedience and  
 "deliberations, and that the result of all  
 "your Councils be deriv'd from it, &c.

*Polyander.*

This was home, and high, but what an-  
 swer did the Parlement make to the former  
 Letter from Nottingham?

*Philanglus.*

The noble Personages who carryed that  
 Letter were look'd upon with an ill aspect  
 by the Parlement; yet an answer was re-  
 turn'd, containing this proposall; *That the*  
*King would revoke and annull in the first place*  
*those Proclamations, and other public instru-*  
*ments whereby their Adherents were declar'd*  
*Traytors, under which notion 'twas neither ha-*  
*nourable for his Majesty to treat with them, nor*  
*were they capable to treat with Him.*

*Polyander.*

This Doctrine I beleeve they had learnt  
 of the *Scot*; but what did the King reply?

*Philanglus.*

He sent word that he was willing so to  
 do,

do, provided that the Parlement would recall likewise their Votes, Orders, or Ordinances pass'd against such whom they declar'd Delinquents for adhering to the King according to the cleer known Law of the Land, in the Reign of Hen. 7. which was, *That none should be molested or question'd for adhering unto, or assisting the Royal person of the King.*

This the King desir'd by way of reciprocal correspondence, but it being denyed, those overtures for a Trety came to nothing; so the Parlements Army begin to advance, and the Kings did daily encrease.

Thereupon the Lords that were about the Person of the King, whereof there were above threescore, made this public *Manifesto*.

We do engage our selves not to obey any orders or Commands whatsoever, that are not warranted by the known Laws of the Land; Wee engage our selves and fortunes to defend your Majesties Person, Crown, and Dignity, with your just and legall Prerogatives, against all Persons and Power whatsoever: Wee will defend the Religion establish'd by the Law of the Land, the lawfull Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, with the just privileges of your Majesty and the Parlement; And we engage our selves further, not to obey any Rules, Order,

Order, or Ordinance whatsoever concerning any Militia, that hath not the Royall assent.

To this was subjoyn'd another.

*We whose names are underwritten, in obedience to his Majesties desire, and out of the duty we owe to his honor, and to truth, being here on the place, and witnesses of his Majesties frequent and earnest Declarations and Professions of his abhorring all designs of making War upon the Parlement, and not finding any Councels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such design; We do profess before God, and testifie to all the World, that we are fully perswaded, his Majesty hath no such intention, but that all his endeavours tend to the firm, and constant settlement of the true Religion, and the just privileges of Parlement, the Liberty of the Subject, with the Laws, Peace and prosperity of this Kingdom.*

But all this wold not serve the turn, for neither Parlement nor peeple wold give credit to any thing that drop'd from King or Peers, specially the City of London, where the Presbyterians play'd their parts notably, by inciting the peeple to a Warr for preventing the introduction of slavery and Superstition; so, unusual voluntary collections were made both in Town and Country;  
the

the Seamstress brought in her silver Thimble, the Chamber-maid her Bodkin, the Cook his silver Spoon, the Vintner his Bowl into the common Treasury of War, and they who contributed to so pious a work, were invited more than others in some Churches to come to the *Holy Communion* in the very time of adminitration; And observ'd it was, that some sorts of *Femalls* were freest in those contributions, as far as to part with their Rings and Ear-rings, as if some *Golden Calf* were to be molten and set up to be idoliz'd, which prov'd true; for the *Covenant* a little after was set up, which may be said to have been a kind of Idol, as I shall make it appear hereafter.

Thus a fierce furelous civil War was a fomenting in the very bowels of *England*, which broke out into many storms and showers of blood; The fatall cloud wherein this storm lay long engendring, though when it began to condense first, it appeer'd but as big as a hand, yet by degrees it did spread to such a vast expansion, that it diffus'd it self through the whole Region, and obscur'd that fair face of *Heaven*, which was us'd to shine upon this part of the *Hemisphere*.

The King fell to work then in good earnest, and made choice of the Earl of *Linzey* for



for Generall of the Infantry, which choice was generally cryed up of all; Prince *Rupert* was made Generall of the Horse, but that election did not find such an applause; The first encounter that Prince *Rupert* had with his Godfather the Earl of *Essex* was neer *Worcester*, where he defeated some of the flower of the Parlements Horse; The King having remov'd from *Nottingham* to *Derby*, and so to *Strafford*, his forces encreas'd all along, but passing by *Chartley* the Earl of *Essex* House, the Soldiers hop'd to have had some plunder there, but a strict command was given by the Kings own mouth, that nothing should be touch'd, not as much as a Buck, whereat their teeth did water as they march'd through his Park; So he came to *Shrewsbury* where the Court kept above a Month, at which time the Army multiply'd exceedingly to neer upon 20 M. men, and the *Welshmen* coming so thick down the Mountains did much animat the *English*.

From *Shrewsbury* the King took a resolution to remove to *Oxford*, but after seven dayes tiresome march, he understood the Parlements Army were within six miles of him, so he went out so far to find them out, and fac'd them on a Sunday morning from *Edge-Hill*, as they lay in *Kinton Fields*, where their Colours were display'd; At  
fighe

fight of the Royall Army they discharged some peeces of Ordnance in defiance; so both parties prepar'd for Battail, and the Sun had declin'd above two hours in the afternoon before the Canons, and Kings Infantry could get into the bottom; Being put there in a fighting posture, and having the wind favorable, the King gave command to let fly the Canons to begin Battail; Thus a most furious Engagement began, which lasted about three hours, till night parted them; And some old *French* and *German* Commanders who were there employ'd in the Royall Army, reported afterwards, they never saw such a manfull fight in all their lives: Prince *Rupert* springing ore a low Hedge lin'd thick with the Enemies Musqueteers pursued their Horse very far, and did notable execution upon them all the way, and had he not worried them so far, and deserted the Infantry, or had not his *German* Soldiers fall'n a plundering too soon, matters might have gon better with the King.

Polyander.

I heard it reported that this Battail was fought just the same day twelve month that the Rebellion and *Massacre* began in *Ireland*.

*Philanglus.*

It was so, being the 23. of *October*, a day fatall for blood; Now, though this Battail of *Edg-Hill* may be said to be sudden, unexpected, and unpitch'd, yet for position of ground 'twas fought in as indifferent, and fit a place for Battail as possibly could be lighted upon, for the Combatants had scope enough to fight, and the Spectators, whereof there were multitudes upon the rising adjacent grounds, might behold all as plainly as a Tragedy acted upon a Stage, or Cock fighting in a Pit.

The Parlements Army had the advantage of the Kings in point of Infantry who were very good Fire-locks, most of them having bin train'd up in *London*, and so left their *Wares* to follow the *Warrs*. They had also the advantage of the King in point of Arms, for scarce three parts of four were arm'd in his Army: But for Cavalry, the Royallists had the greater advantage, for the flower of most of the *English* Gentry was there, insomuch that the life-Gard of the Kings was computed to have above one hundred thousand pounds sterling of yeerly renew.

About the evening of the day following, both parties retir'd from the Field, the Parlements back towards *Northampton*, the

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Kings

Kings to their former road towards *Oxford*, and in the way they took *Banbury*, where there was a strong Garrison for the Parle-ment, which sure, as the Cavaliers gave out, the Earl of *Essex* had preserv'd, had he been then Master of the Field.

After this Battail of *Edg-Hill*, there hap-pen'd divers other traverses of Warr 'twixt King and Parlement for about four years, in which revolution of time, there were more skirmiges and Battails fought, than happen'd in those last thirty years Wars of *Germany*, or fourscore years Wars 'twixt *Spain* and *Holland*.

*Polyander.*

This shews that the *English* have still the same old innated valour, that they had when they made the gray Goose wing fly through the heart of *France*, which made *Comines* one of their greatest Authors to confess, that no *Nation is more greedy of Battail, and more impatient of delays that way than the English*, but how was it possible for the King to sub-sist so long, considering the mighty advanta-ges the Parlement had of him?

*Philanglus.*

There were mighty advantages indeed; For they had all the *tenable* places, and Towns of strength, both by Land and Sea; They had all the Navy Royall; They had  
the

the Tower of *London* with all the Ammunition and Arms of the Crown; They had the Imposts and Customs, Poundage and Tonnage, they had the Exchequer at their devotion, with the Revenues of King, Queen and Prince; They had the City of *London*, which may be call'd the great Magazin of men and money, where there is a redy supply of all things that may feed, clothe, or make men gay and gallant, to put them in heart and resolution.

*Polyander.*

Then they had *Sea*, *City*, and *Scot* on their side. But how came the *Scot* to be so against the King, or to levy Armes without his Committion, considering the late great Protestations and Oaths they had made not to do it, by reviving the Act of Parlement to that effect, which they said they did in recognition of those Royall recent favours, and unparallel'd mighty Concessions and Acts of grace, which he had done them by their own Confessions?

*Philanglus.*

They were indeed mighty, or rather monstrous Acts of grace that he had pass'd unto them, which did so trench upon the Royal Prerogative, and so denude him of all power that it mought have been said of him ever after, that he was King of *Scotland*, no

therwise than he was King of *France*, *Titular* only.

*Polyander.*

How did the *Scots* express their thankfulness to their King and Country-man afterwards for such transcendent favors?

*Philanglus.*

They prov'd the greatest Monsters of Ingratitude of any upon earth, specially the *Kirk-men* whom he had oblig'd in an extraordinary manner; For the King being inform'd of the mean condition of Churchmen in that Kingdom, who by their holy function have a care of the noblest part of man, and being told what poor pittances, or rather benevolences only they had, and for those also how they depended upon the will and plesure of the *Laic*, By a speciall Commission to that purpose, he found a way not only to augment but to ascertain those salaries of Church Ministers upon good firm rent: whereby they might be free from that servile kind of Clientele and Dependency they had upon their secular Patrons.

*Polyander.*

Questionless this was a mighty generall advantage to the Clergy of *Scotland*, both in point of esteem and subsistence, but what returns did these royall favors receive?

*Philang-*

Those foolish Kirk-men grew afterwards his greatest enemies by virulent seditious Preachments and Pasquils to corrupt and lessen the hearts of his Subjects towards him, nay, when he made himself a Prisoner to the *Scots* Army at *Newark* and *Newcastle*, those Kirk-men did so little resent his hard condition, that they did preach up and down against his comming to *Scotland*, &c.

Moreover, whereas the common sort of Freeholders who were bound to pay Tithes to the Impropiators or Lords of the *Ecclesi- on*, as they stil'd themselves, were us'd to be much incommo'ded, and oftentimes damni- fied, because they could not take in their Corn till the secular Lord had fetch'd a- way his Tithe, which he wold sometimes delay of purpose to shew his passion or power, whereby the whole Crop for not taking the advantage of the weather, oft- times did suffer; The King for relief of the Country Husbandman, appointed cer- tain Commissioners to take this grievance into consideration, who after much pains taken in the business, found out a legall and indifferent way to purchase those tithes and bring the Impropiator to take a pe- cuniary set valuable Rent, which was also

an advantage to *Him*, in regard of the certainty of it.

*Polyander.*

It was doubtless an advantage to both parties, but how did they carry themselves towards the King afterwards?

*Philanglus.*

Just as the Kirk-men did; But you shall hear more; when the King, as I told you before, had in a full Parlemtent confirm'd unto the *Scot* all the Privileges of Kirk and Kingdom, when he had made an oblation to them of all the Bishops Lands, conferr'd many honors and offices, and done them many other obliging Acts of grace, and all this *gratis*, the *English* Parlements using alwayes to answer their Kings favours in this kind, with a supply of Trelure, I say, in having done all this *gratis*, He before his departure desir'd them to continue their allegiance, and live in peace, for they had not now the least grievance to complain of, and if any difference shold fall out betwixt him and his *English* Subjects, which he hop'd God would avert, He desir'd them not to intermeddle, for whereas he might expect and demand aid of *them* if the case requir'd, yet he wold not trouble the repose of that his *Native* Countrey; This they all did not only promise to do, but they did  
solemn



solemnly oblige their souls thereunto by revival of the Act I told you of before, at the publishing wherof one of their Grandees fell on his knees, and lifting up both his Arms, wish'd they might rot to his body before death, if ever he wold heave them up hereafter, or draw sword against his g'd King: yet for all this they intruded themselves into the Kings affairs, convok'd a Parlement without his summons, sent Commissioners to *Oxford*, and thrust themselves to be *Umpires*, They made besides, a strict league with the *English* Parlement, and at last rush'd into *England* again with an Army in the dead of Winter, which Army they had levyed not only without, but expressly against the Kings Commission and countermands; that wretch who had publicquely vowed never to draw Sword again without his Majesties Commission, &c. coming General of the said Army: But for Martial exploits the little credit that Army got by storming *Newcastle* was not countervailable to that which they lost before *Hereford*, where the Welshmen bangd them to som purpose from before the Town, and made their General after nine weeks siege to truss up his pack and away, sending him a fat Sow with a Litter of Piggs after her, and a blew Bonnet upon her head for his Breakfast. I must inform

you further that the King being reduc'd to much extremity in *Oxford*, by cross successes and *Counsels*, he got away in a Serving-mans disguise to the *Scots* Army nere *Newark* as his last refuge, which plot was manag'd by the subtilty of the *French* Agent then residing here : A man wold have thought *that* Nation wold have deem'd it an eternal honor to have their own King and Country-man to throw himself thus into their Arms, and repose so singular a confidence in them upon such an exigent ; But they corresponded not with him as he expected ; For though at first when the *English* Parleмент solicited their *Dear Brethren* for a delivery of the Kings Person unto them, their note was then, that if any stranger Prince had put himself so upon them, they could not with honor deliver him up, much less their own native King ; yet they made a sacrifice of him afterwards for a sum of money ; Whereupon *Bellieure* the *French* Ambassador being convoy'd by a Troop of *Scots* Horse to such a stand, in lieu of larges to the said Troopers, he drew out half a Crown peece and asked them how many pence that was, they answer'd thirty pence, he replied for so much did *Judas* betray his Master, and so hurld them the half Crown.

*Polyander.*

But afterwards the *Scots* carried themselves bravely by sending a gay Army under D. *Hamilton* to assist the King.

*Philanglus.*

Touching that *Presbyterian* Army, the bottom of its design is not known to this day, and I was told, that when the King heard of it, and that *Hamilton* was in the head of it, he should say; *Then I expect but little good to be don for me.*

*Polyander.*

Certainly the routing of that Army was a glorious exploit of the Lord Protector that now is, his forces not amounting to the third part of the *Scots*.

*Philanglus.*

It was certainly a very heroik Achievement, as also was the battail of *Dunbar*, wher the *Scots* had greater advantages far of him; which two exploits deserve to be engraven in large Letters of Gold in the Temple of Immortality, and transmitted to after ages; For herby he did more than the *Roman* Emperors, or after them, the *Saxon*, *Danish*, *Norman*, and *English* Kings cold ever do, to conquer that craggy Country, and make *England* *Scot-free* ever hereafter.

But before I have don with this unlucky  
Nati-

Nation; I will give you a touch of those visible Judgements which have fallen upon them so thick one upon the neck of another in few years, more than fell upon the *Jews* in forty; First there happen'd the greatest plague in *Edenburgh*, that ever was in that Countrey, for in less than a twelvemonth, that Town was peeped with new faces, the Pestilence having swep'd away almost all the old; Ther have been above 2000 Witches arraign'd and executed there with in these few years: After the routing of D. *Hamilton*, and the Battail of *Dunbar*, with that at *Worcester*, many thousands of that Nation have been bought and sold in quality of slaves to be banish'd, and sent over to forren Plantations; What numbers of them were starv'd, and buried before they were dead; And what is now becom of their hundred and ten Kings, and their Crown? which I heard them brag, was more weighty, as having more Gold in it than the *English*? And for their Government they are reduc'd to be as pure a subordinat Province, and subject to the will of the Conquerer as ever Countrey was.

*Polyander.*

. I must tell you also that they have lost much of their repute abroad; but if I were worthy to be heard by the Lord *Protector*, I wold make a motion that his Highness wold

would take in, at least, all the Land twixt *Barwick* and *Edenburgh* into the *English* Pale, and impose a new name upon it for an Eternal mark of Conquest, and for enlarging the Skirts of *England*.

But Sir, it is time for you now under favor to return to *London*, and know what the Parlement doth.

*Philanglus.*

Ther are all Artifices us'd to make the King odious, and both the Press and the Pulpit joyn in the work; new distinctions are coyn'd, that though he was *Gods* Anoynted, yet he was *mans* appointed; That he had the *Commanding*, but not the *disposing* power; That he was set to *Rule*, but not to *over-rule* us; That he was King by *humane* choice, not by *Divine* Charter; That he was not King by the *Grace* of God, but by the *suffrage* of the people; That he had no *implicit* trust, or *peculiar* property in any thing, that *populus est potior Rege*; that *Grege* *Lege*, *Lex* *Rege* *potentior*; That the King is *singulis* *major*, but *universis* *minor*. Lastly that he was but a *Creature*, and production of the *Parlements*, &c.

Moreover all Artifices are us'd to raise money; The first way that the Parlement us'd (after a Royal Subsidy of 400000 *l.*) was to *poll* us, then they went on to *clip* and *shave* us, and had they continued longer

ger, they had fallen a *slaying* of us; They lighted on no less then twenty several wayes to get money above board, whatsoever they got below, *Pole-money*, and the Royall Subsidy were the first two; 3. Free loans and contributions upon the public faith, which swell'd to an incredible sum. 4. The *Irish* adventures for sale of Lands the first and second time. 5. The general Collection for relief of the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*, to which use the *Hollanders* sent over in mony, and Corn neer upon 50000 *l.* & the *English* collections came to neer four times so much, so that in all, both the Collections amounted to above 200000 *l.* sterling, & yet not ten thousand pound, not the twentieth part was employ'd to the right use. 5. They grew so hungry for money, that they impos'd the weekly meal. 6. The City loan after the rate of five Subsidies. 7. A particular Assessment for bringing in our dear Brethren the *Scots*. 8. The five and twentieth part. 9. The weekly Assessment for the Lord Generals Army. 10. The weekly Assessment for Sir *Tho. Fairfax* Army. 11. The weekly Assessment for the *Scots* Army. 12. The weekly Assessment for the British Army in *Ireland*. 13. The weekly Assessment for the Lord of *Manchesters* Army. 14. The Kings,

Kings, Queens, and Princes Revenues. 15. Sequestrations and plunder by Committees. 16. Compositions with Delinquents, and fines, which came to sums pass'd all understanding. 17. That *Dutch* Devill the Excise. 18. Fortification money. 19. Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands.

To this may be added the Ship *Santa Clara*, valued in mony and Merchandize at 80000 *l.* sterling, which was detain'd at *Southampton* for reparation of those damages that som *English* Merchants had receav'd by the *Spaniard*, as it was declar'd in the *House*, but not a farthing therof was employ'd to that use, notwithstanding that many with expence of time and coin did solicit for the same, and lastly the Household stuff of the King, Queen, Prince and others; wherof som small proportion was allotted for payment of the Arrears of the Kings poor Servants; but they wer to advance two in the pound before-hand before they could be admitted to any Divident, and 'tis incredible what jugling ther was us'd in that business, for som receav'd nothing therby but loss upon loss: Nay they took away monys given to repair Churches, and in som places robb'd the very *Lazaretto*, or Spittle.

*Polyander.*

Sure, these vast sums must amount to a huge mass of money, money enough to have purchas'd half a dozen kingdoms instead of purging one. Touching that *Dutch Devil* you speak of, the *Excise*, I remember, Sir *Dudley Carleton* when he was Secretary of State did but name it in one Parliament, and it was such a Bugbear abominable word, that he was call'd to the Bar, and hardly escap'd going to the Tower, though he made use of it to no ill sense; But was ther no account given of these public Erogations and taxes?

*Philanglus.*

An account was often vored and promis'd, but never perform'd; for then they should have discover'd how much their own memberships had swallowed for their privat interest of the public Treasure; by free gifts among themselves, and the perquisites of gainfull offices.

*Polyander.*

But we heard beyond Sea, that they had pass'd a solemn Ordinance of *Aprauiia* or self-abnegation, call'd the *self-denying Ordinance*, wherby they made themselves incapable of Offices, and other things of gain.

*Philanglus.*

'Tis true ther was such an Ordinance, and 'twas thought it pass'd principally to remove

*Essex*



*Essex* from the Generalship, whom they began to *suspect*, but nothing was afterward less observ'd.

*Polyander.*

I heard you speak of moneys borrow'd upon the *public Faith*, I pray how wer those reimbouried?

*Philanglus.*

It was the first time that *public Faith* did ever set up for her self, and she quickly grew to be a Bankrupt; And never was ther such *double* dealing us'd by any public Assembly; For when the Lenders upon that *public Faith* came to demand their moneys, They could not have them, unless they doubled the first sum, together with the interest they had received, and then they shold have the valu in Church or Crown Lands, but if they *doubled* not both interest and principal, they shold not be capable to have any Lands at all allowed for their moneys; Divers to my knowledge have ruin'd themselves herby, and though they clamor'd, and spoak high language at the Parlements dore, and were promis'd satisfaction, yet they could not get peny to this day, unless it were the ten pound men, and those that lent petty sums.

*Polyander.*

I heard this cry'd up abroad to be the arrandst Cheat that ever was don by a great Council,

Council, and one of the foulest blemishes that *England* could receive, by making her *forfeit* her *faith* in that manner, which made one say; *fides Publica, Fides Punica.*

I heard likewise of divers Interlopers that for half a crown in the pound were us'd to buy the *public Faith* Bills, as others did drive on a trade to buy the Soldiers De-benters.

But wheras we have spoke a little of that *Dutch Devil* the *Excise*, we heard abroad of a *Scotch Devil* also, though of another nature, that was risen up amongst you, which was the *Covenant*; I pray how was he conjur'd up.

*Philanglus.*

That *Covenant* was conjur'd up by the Presbyterian party, and may be call'd a worse Devil than the *Excise*, for the one tyranniz'd ore the Purse, the other ore the Conscience; But what an unmanly and dishonorable thing was it for the *English* Nation to bind their souls for conserving the Religion of another foren peeple inferior to them, for conserving the Doctrin, Disciplin, and Government of that Church which not one *English* man in a thousand did understand, and yet every one must take the holy *Covenant* by a blind implicit Faith to maintain it; But now that we have fallen upon  
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the *Covenant* which may be said to be an Engin forg'd in Hell for battry of the Conscience, I will tell you of an odd passage that happen'd about that time; Ther was one Master *Heron* a Printer, who being sent for by a Lady of good quality, she told him that now that ther was a National Covenant com forth, which every one must take, she had a Sermon in a fair manuscript of that great light of the Church, Master *Brightman*, which treats of *universal Covenants*, viz. how far they are agreeable to Scripture, and consonant to the Word of God, and it had bin preach'd before the House of Commons thirty yeers before, therefore it wold be now very seasonable to print and publish it; The Printer giving her Ladyship many thanks, receiv'd the Sermon, (which she avouch'd upon her honor to be a *true* Copy) and undertook the busines, so he went to him who was appointed by the *Synod* to licence for the Press peeces of that nature, to get an *Imprimatur*, but the *Synodical* man having kept the Sermon above three daies by him, the Printer went for his Sermon, and found it formally licenc'd for the Press, but most pittifully *falsify'd*, *interlin'd* and *adulterated* in many places; For wheras the opinion of *Brightman* throughout the whole

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Sermon;

Sermon, was, that a National and General Covenant was agreeable to the Word of God, Provided, *the King did give his Royall assent thereunto, without which it was both detestable and damnable*; The holy Synodical man had expunged the word *King* every where, and foisted in the room of it, sometimes the word *Parlement*, sometimes the *Trustees of the Common wealth*; sometimes the *men in Authority*; The Printer having perus'd the interlineations and expunctions, told him, that were he to get 1000 *l.* by printing that Sermon, he wold not be so arrand a Knave as to wrong the dead so much, by making him speak what he never meant, nay things quite contrary to his meaning; I saw the said Sermon, and the maner how it was so basely sophisticated.

*Polyander.*

Ther was another Oth consisting all of Negatives, call'd the Oth of *Abjuration*, which I also heard of, that came out about the same time, which extended to take away the liberty of the very *thought*, it did not only reach the outward man, but it ransack'd all the Cells of his brain, with the intern *Ideas* and cogitations of his mind.

*Philanglus.*

Truly, under favor, and correction, humbly speak it, ther is a kind of inhumanity

manity, and *αλογία* in that *Oth*; for all Laws are made, and all Magistrats are instituted to restrain the *outward* man, and regulate his Actions as they refer to the public; for it matters not what privat crochets we have in our single selves, so we be in consort and tune with our Companions; The Law considers us as we have reference one to another, and to the body politic, therefore it neither useth to limit our privat spendings, nor ties us to any cours of diet or Physic, because our single fortunes, and health, though they mightily concern our selves, yet they are but of little importance to the public; And as every one enjoys this liberty in relation to his body, and goods, so our *souls* ought to be allow'd a proportionable share of that freedom, so that it give no scandal to the public.

Our *thoughts* as long as we keep them within dores, cannot any way offend, therefore the Law hath provided no punishment for them; The intention of Murther is taken no notice of by the Law, if the design of mischief stay at the imagination, and proceeds no further to any outward attempt; The Law refers that to the great Tribunal of God who is the only *Kardio-graphic*, the sole searcher of the heart; If a Law were justifiable against erroneous

Thoughts in points of Religion, with an Oth of *Abjuration* to make the suspected accuse himself, why (as a Gentleman doth rationally infer) shold ther not an Oth be also provided against *thoughts* of *Treason*, *Adultery* and *Murther*? and to bring every one to swear whether he be guilty or no of such crimes. Now, touching this *Presbyterian* Oth of *Abjuration*, it is not contented with a modest, and simple denial, that one *beleeves* ther are no such and such things, but he must swear positively and point blank ther *are no* such things at all; Now, though I am not of the same opinion with *Copernicus* that the *Earth moves*, and the *Sun stands still*, yet I wold be loth to *swear* either the one or the other.

*Polyander.*

I observe that this Oth hath a double edge, for either it must *wrong one's Conscience*, or *ruine his fortunes*; besides he is condemn'd without either *Accuser* or *Witness*, the party himself must be against himself, and what can be more repugnant to nature?

*Philanglus.*

It is not only opposit to the Law of *Nature*, but the *Common Law* of *England* doth so abhor that any shold accuse and condemn himself, that ther wer extraordinary provisions made against it by our Progenitors.

rors, Therefore if any had been cited in the *Spiritual Court* to accuse himself *pro salute animæ*, a *Prohibition* lay at the *Common Law* to stop and supersede their proceedings : All which is humbly left to the consideration of the present Government.

*Polyander.*

I infer out of this, that if the *Presbyteri-  
an* had established himself, he had prov'd the ugliest tyrant that ever was on Gods Earth, if you relate to Soul, Body, or Goods, in lieu of 26 *Bishops*, we shold have had nine thousand and odd *Popes*, who wold have *deliver'd us over to Satan* ever and anon, and puzzeled us with their Parochicall, Congregationall, and Nationall Classes. But I cannot wonder enough that the House of Commons shold bulie themselves so much, and undertake to *frame* and impose new Oths, when by the Law of the Land they had not power as much as to *administer* an old Oth to the meanest Subject ; And touching that *Covenant*, what could be more opposit unto their former Oths? for therin they offred their souls to *preserve that Religion which was establish'd by the Laws of England*, and in the *Covenant* they bind themselves, to *conserve that which was established by the Laws of Scotland*, and to that purpose they may be said to

offer up *God* for their security to *Satan*. Moreover, those *Demogogs* or popular *Dagons*, though they wer so forward to constrain all other of their fellow Subjects to take and swallow up any Oths, yet two parts of three among themselves did not take them, as I have been often told.

But Sir, now that you have been pleas'd to inform me of their carriage in *Spiritual* things, how did they comport themselves in *Civil* matters, after they had monopoliz'd unto themselves all power by the Act of Continuance?

*Philanglus.*

First I must tell you, that touching that monstrous Act, the soundest Lawyers of the Kingdom wer of opinion, that it was of no validity, that it was void in it self, in regard that what grants or concessions soever the King makes, the Law presupposeth, they are alwayes made with these Proviso's, *Salvo jure Regio, salvo jure Corona*; now it was impossible that any grant could possibly trench more upon the Right of King or Crown, as that extravagant Act of Continuance, therefore it was nul in its own nature at the very first; nay, as som affirm'd, the very *Proposall* of it was Treson in a high degree.

But having hooked the power thus into their



their hands, they strained it up to the highest pitch that could be; They made themselves Land-lords of all the three Kingdoms; it was a common thing to take any mans house over his head, and make use of it for their service; They meddled with every thing, so far, that scarce a Church-warden or Vestry-man could be made without them, they wold have a hand in making Common-Council men, and Constables, with other petty Officers.

*Polyander.*

Me thinks that was somewhat derogatory to the supremacy of their power, for great Councils shold not descend to every petty object, but with their high authority they shold enlarge their souls to consider of Universals.

*Philanglus.*

I could produce many Instances how they undervalued themselves this way, but let this one suffice. It happen'd one day that a company of ramping wenches, who went under the name of *Maids*, or Holy Sisters, came with a Remonstrance to shew their affections to the House, and they were headed by Mrs. *Ann Stagg*, who was to deliver the Remonstrance; hereupon a choice member was voted to go Mrs. to *Ann Staggs* lodging to thank her and the rest of the

maidens for their good affections to the Parlement,&c.

But to be more serious with you, touching *civil* matters, wherof you gave a touch before, ther was nothing so common in those times as a *charge without an Accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and condemnation without hearing* : How many were outed of their freeholds, liberty and livelihoods before any examination, much less conviction ? how many appeals wer made from solemn tribunals of Justice to inferior Committees ? how common a thing was it to make an order of theirs to controll and suspend the very fundamental Laws of the Land ? and take away any mans House from over his head, as I told you before.

*Polyander.*

But this was in the brunt of the War, which the King did necessitat them unto, as he acknowledg'd in the Treaty at the Isle of Wight.

*Philanglus.*

'Tis true he did so, but he did it upon two weighty considerations, and as it had reference to two ends, first to smoothen things therby, and pave the way to a happy peace : Secondly, that it might conduce to the further security of the two Houses of Parlement with their Adherents :

Besides

Besides he did it when the Razor was as it were at his throat, when there was an Army of above 30000 effectif horse and foot, that were in motion against him; Yet this *Acknowledgement* was made, with these two provisos and reservations, First, that it should be of no vertue and validity at all till the whole Trety were totally consummated; Secondly, that he might when he pleas'd enlarge, and cleer the truth hereof with the reservedness of his meaning by public Declaration; Moreover, *That* Grant or Acknowledgment was but a preambular proposition, it was not of the Essence of the Trety it self; Now, as the Philosophers and Schoolmen tell us, there is no valid proof can be drawn out of *Proems*, Introductions, or Corollaries in any Science, but out of the positive Assertions, and body of the Text, which is only argument-proof, so in the Constitutions and Lawes of *England*, as also in all civil accusations and charges, fore-running Prefaces (which commonly weak causes most want) are not pleadable. And though they use to be first in place, like Gentlemen Ushers, yet are they last in dignity, and should also be so in framing; Therefore there was too much hast us'd by the Parlement to draw that *Hypothetic* Provisionall concession to the form of an Act so  
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suddenly before the Trety it self was fully concluded.

*Polyander.*

But who was the first Aggressor of that ugly Warr, the King or the Parlement?

*Philanglus.*

I will not presume to determin that, only I will inform you, that the Parlement took the first Military gard; they first interdicted trade: They countenanc'd all tumultuous Riots, gave way to *Club-Law*, and they kept the King by force out of *Hull*, issued Commissions for Horse, brought in forren force, and had a compleat Army in motion, a good while before the *Royall Standard* was set up.

*Polyander.*

I remember a witty Motto that the last *French* Cardinall caus'd to be engraven upon the brich of some new Canons which were cast in the *Arsenall* at *Paris*, it was

—*RATIO ULTIMA REGUM.*

*Viz.* That the *Canon* was the last reason of *Kings*.

But whether this Motto may fit *Subjects*, I will not dispute.

But sure the King was ill advis'd so to rush into a Warr, considering what infinit advantages the *Honfes* had of him, for as  
you

you say'd before, they had the *Sea*, the *Scot*, and the *City* on their side; and the King had no Confederat at all at home or abroad; I am sure he had no friend abroad that one might say was a true friend unto him, unless it was the Prince of *Orenge*, in regard he had disoblig'd all other Princes: For you know, as soon as he came to the Crown, he rush'd into a Warr with the King of *Spain*, and in lieu of making him his *Brother in Law*, he made him his *foe*, which stuck still in his stomach; as also because he had given so fair a reception to the Ambassadors of *Don Juan de Braganza* now King of *Portugall*. A little after he broke with the *French* King, Notwithstanding that he had his Sister every night in his Arms; The *Hollanders* gave out that he had appear'd more for the *Spaniard* than *Them*, in that great fight with *Don Antonio d'Oquendo*; and that he suffer'd his own Ships and others to convey the King of *Spains* money to *Dunkerk*. He was engag'd to his Uncle the K. of *Denmark* in great old sums wherof there was little care taken to give satisfaction; the *Irish* cryed out, They had bin oppress'd; The *Swed* observ'd that he was more for the House of *Austria*, than for *Gustavus Adolphus*; And at home, I have been told that the *Irish* cryed out he was

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oppress'd; And the *Scot* whom he had oblig'd most of any by such mountains of favors, with divers of his own *Cretures*, and domestic bosom servants whom he had engag'd most, started aside from him like a broken bow, so that all things did co-operat, and conspir'd as it were to make him a *hard-Fated Prince*, and to usher in a Revolution.

*Philanglus.*

Yet I heard that all Princes were very sensible of his fall.

*Polyander.*

'Tis true, they did much resent it at first, yet they were affected rather with *Astonishment* then *sorrow*; And touching the *Roman Catholic* Princes they did afterwards rejoyce at it, considering what a huge blemish the manner of his death brought upon the *Reformed Religion*; but Sir I pray be pleas'd to proceed.

*Philanglus.*

The *Sophies*, or *Gran Seniors* of the *Common-wealth*, whereof we spoke before, screw'd up their authority every day higher and higher, They declare, that an Ordinance of *Parlement* without the *Royal* assent is equivalent to an *Act*; They declare, that not only the consultative, ministerial and directive power is in them, but also the  
Judica-

Judicatory, Despotically, and *Legislative* highest power is inherent in the walls of their two Houses; That their power is also Arbitrary, *Ubiquitary* and incontrollable; That they are not subject to dissolution or Time, being the eternall and irrevocable Trustees of the Common-wealth, with such *Rodomontados*, which made one to think that a Mid-summer Moon had got into their brains, and therefore held this Anagram a very fit one to be set up on the dore of the House, with the distic annexed,

*Parliamentum,  
Lar Amentium.*

*Fronte rogas isto P. cur Anagrammate non sit?  
In promptu causa est, Principem abesse scias.*

*Polyander.*

They who have pryed into the true humor of a *Portuguez*, have observ'd, that He useth to act more according to what he *thinks* himself to be, than what he *really is*; It seems that these Parlemeuteers were possess'd and puff'd up with the same humor; But if the supreme power were in an Assembly, when that assembly is risen, I wonder what's becom of the power; sure it must rest in the air, or flick to the walls of the Chamber where they breath'd. Now Sir, touching

touching *long Parlements*, I am of opinion, it is the greatest and generall'st grievance that can be possibly to the *English* peeple, by reason that, besides other irregularities, it stops the ordinary cours of Law, in regard of the privilege they have, not to *be subject to arrest* with others to whom they give protection, now not one in four of that long Parliament men but ow'd mony, and what use Sir *Peter T.* and divers others made of that privilege to the detriment of a thousand poor Creditors, is too well known: And were such men think you fit to keep the Kingdoms Purse in their pockets so long? But having got the great Seal, as well as the Sword into their hands, what signall Acts of Justice did they do?

*Philanglus.*

'Tis true they had got the *Seal* and *Sword*, which the Law of *England* doth appropriate to the *chiefest Magistrat*, the one should be girt only to his side, and the other hang at his Girdle; And it was told them to their faces by the knowingst members in the House, that to cut a Broad Seal of *England* was the highest treason that possibly could be attempted, without the assent of the *Governor in chief*. Now Sir, touching any signall act of Justice they ever did, I am to seek to this day, but for horrid Acts  
and



and passages of injustice, I think there could be produc'd a thousand cleer, and yet crying examples, which would make a greater volume then the Book of *Martyrs*, I mean Acts that we done before the Warr begun, and after it was ended, which takes away the specious colour of *necessity*, wherewith they varnish'd all their excesses and irregular actions.

I will instance only in two, (for this was intended for a short discours, not for a story) viz. The business of the Lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Stawell*, the first a personage who is a great ornament to this Nation by his gallant comportments beyond the Seas, the other one of the considerablest Knights in the whole Countrey.

Touching the Lord *Craven*, he went with consent of Parlement to his charge in the Low Countries, not only before the Warr, but before any discontentment happen'd at all 'twixt King and Parlement, and being attending his said military charge at *Breda*, when the King of *Scots* came thither, and the Queen of *Bohemia* being also there, he could not avoid seeing them sometimes; nor was there any order or Act of Parlement to prohibit any body from doing so; But for intermedling with any affairs of State, or mixing with the *Scots* Councell, he never did

did it; At that time there hapn'd to be in *Breda*, many cashier'd *English* Officers, and among them one *Faulkner*, who having a Petition drawn, and written all with his own hand, the pourport whereof only was that the King wold *releeve their necessities*; They desir'd the intercession of my Lord *Craven* herein, but he with a civil complement declin'd the businets, for he was not fit to do them service, because as he said he was neither Courtier nor servant to the King. Hereupon *Faulkner* being offended, both with King and *Craven*, in a passion said (as 'twas proved) *This it is to follow a thing call'd King, damme, I'll to England, and do all the mischief I can*; Being come to *London* he forg'd another Petition, wherein ther were scandalous words against the Parlement, viz. That they were *barbarous inhumane villains*. Then going with a *Confident* of the Parlements who sed him with Money to go on in his design, He made an Affidavit upon Oath, that the fomentation'd Officers at *Breda* shewed this very Petition to the Lord *Craven*, who read it, and deliver'd it to the King, both which was damnably false; As soon as this Deposition was reported to the House, they presently voted a Confiscation of all the Lord *Cravens* Estate. He being then neer upon a thousand miles off

off in *Germany*, and no soul appearing for him, nor could any on his behalf procure a Copy of *Faulkners* deposition: *Craven* having notice hereof, he sent a most humble Petition to the Parlement, declaring his innocence, which Petition was sent in the *Dutch* Ambassadors Packet, who deliveren it accordingly, but it was denied to be read in the House, because there was none present who could testifie they did see the Lord *Craven* subscribe it; He sent afterwards another Petition, but it was seven months before it could be read in the House; In the mean time his estate had been sequestred, his Woods cut down, and other spoils don; His Agents here to invalidat the Affidavit of *Faulkner* indited him of Perjury, which was clearly prov'd in open Court, and the originall Petition was produc'd, which was written by *Faulkner* himself, wherein there was not one syllable that spoke of the Parlement; There was legall proof also made that *Craven* had nothing to do with that Petition; This Inditement of perjury being found against *Faulkner* by the grand Jury, the Parlement was inform'd therewith, yet neretheless a Bill pass'd for sale of the Lo. *Cravens* Estate, and Surveyors sent accordingly to the Countrey; *Faulkner* being thus convicted of Perjury, it was prov'd

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also in Court what a nefarious Atheistical and most wicked fellow he was both in his words and actions, how he had nothing more common in his mouth, than *dam me, blood and wounds, and buggring of his soul to Hell*; It was prov'd that at *Petersfield* hee *drank a health to the Devil*, and that hee should say our *Saviour was a Bastard*, and *but a Carpenters son, carrying a Basket of tools after his Father*; The Parlement was acquainted with all this, and divers earnest and sedulous applications that possibly could be made were us'd, but nothing wold prevail.

The Lord *Craven* finding the House so inexorable, and obdurate, rather than so fair an Estate shold be cantoniz'd and squandered into so many hands, he propos'd by way of humble Petition, that the House wold punish him by way of pecuniary *mult*, and there were two able Knights attending the Door ready to undertake the payment thereof, which motion the Lord *Generall*, now Lord *Protector*, did most nobly advance: yet all would not do, but the Surveys of the Estate being return'd, the Bill of Sale was compleated, and some of the *Members* of the House stepp'd in with the first to buy the flour of his Lands to the value of 6000 *l. per Annum*, as appears by the  
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contracts made at *Drury* House in their own names: That goodly House at *Canham* near *Reading* being in excellent repair, was bought by some, who for greedy lucre, and gain utterly defac'd it, they pull'd down the Waynscots, Stair-cases, Lead, Iron, and all other materials about the House, which had cost above 20000, *l.* yet they gave the Common-wealth but little above 1500 *l.* in moneys for it, the price of Debenters therein also included.

*Polyander.*

Truly Sir, it was one of the hardest peeces of injustice I ever heard of, that such a Princely Estate (for I heard by divers, that had the Lord *Craven* enjoy'd it to this day, it would have amounted to above 20000 *l. per Annum*) a Revenue that I know some *soverain* Princes come short of; I say it was a sad thing, that by the single testimony of one man, and he such a perjur'd notorious villain as it was apparently prov'd, such an Estate shold be destroy'd.

*Philanglus.*

A sad thing indeed; but besides those pregnant proofs which were produc'd and made good in open Court, that abominable wretch being lately upon his death bed in the Kings Bench, confess'd all under his own hand, and what monstrous wrong he had don the Lord *Craven*;

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But I will proceed now to the other Instance I promis'd you.

The unlucky War 'twixt King and Parlemt being begun about the Commission of Array, the City of *Exceter* was beleager'd by Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, which at last render'd her self upon Article; It chanc'd Sir *John Stawell* was then in the Town; A full agreement being made, the Capitulations sign'd and seal'd, and the place yeelded, Sir *John* came to *London* in due time to reap the benefit of the Articles which were solemnly confirm'd and ratified by both Houses of Parlemt; Now, two of those Articles were, that no *Oath, Covenant, Protestation, or Subscription* shold be impos'd upon any person, compriz'd within those Articles, but only such as shold bind them from bearing Arms for the future against the Parlemt.

2. That all persons compriz'd in those Articles, having made such a subscription, should be admitted to a moderate Composition, which was not to exceed two yeers value of any mans reall estate, &c.

Sir *John Stawell* having subscrib'd accordingly, and brought a Copy of his Subscription, as also a fair Certificat from Sir *Tho. Fairfax* that he was compriz'd in *Exon* Articles, made his address to *Goldsmiths Hall*, and producing the said Certificat and

and subscription, he Petition'd that he might be admitted to compound according to Article; The Commissioners answer'd, that he was not capable of Composition unless he wold take the *Covenant*, and Negative Oath, whereunto he modestly reply'd, that there was no Article for that, but rather *è contrario*; whereupon he was not only barr'd of his Composition, but he was sent Prisoner to *Ely House*; Afterwards by the *sole* order of the House of Commons, he was committed to *Newgate* for high Treson, in levying Warre against the Parlemt, where he continued almost four years, in which time he was severall times indited of Treson, and twice arraign'd at the K. Bench Bar for his life; Then was He remov'd from *Newgate* to the *Tower* and kept close Prisoner, whence he was several times convented before the High *Court of Justice*, which had bin newly erected, who after many dayes triall wold neither *sentence* him nor *acquit* him, but only certified their proceedings to the Parlemt.

Now Sir, you must know, that presently upon the taking of *Exceter* his whole estate was sequestred, and continuing so above 7. years, he being not allow'd one peny to put bread in his mouth, whereby he visibly lost above 30000 *l.* which he humbly pray'd

might satisfie for his Composition which would not have amounted to the sixth part so much according to Article; He was not only denyed that, but a *nigrum Theta*, a black Bill was voted for selling away his whole Estate; A little after, an *Act* being pass'd, and Commissioners appointed for the relief of prisoners upon Articles in time of War, Sir John made his addressees unto them, and after above ten Months debate of the business, the whole Court (consisting of eight Commissioners) delivered their opinions cleerly, that Sir John Stawell was within the Articles of *Exon*, that he had not broken any of those Articles ever since, but exactly observ'd and perform'd them, that consequently He was not only to have his person unmolested, and his whole Estate restor'd him, but to have satisfaction for the great losses he had receiv'd while his Estate lay under Sequestration, &c.

This cleer and positive Judgment being pronounc'd solemnly by the Court of Articles, and the *Demurrers* which the Trustees appointed to sell forfeited Estates, and the Purchasers of Sir John Stawells Lands had made being over-rul'd, yet the Parliament resum'd the business, revers'd the sentence of that Court they themselves had authoriz'd, and voted that the Purchasers should



should quietly enjoy and occupy according to their severall Contracts, what they had bought of Sir *John Stawells* Estate.

*Polyander.*

Good Lord, what a world of hardships, did that noble Knight undergo, as to be so toss'd from Prison to Prison, from Bar to Bar, yet to be found guilty no where, yea, to be pronounc'd *Rectus in curia*, nevertheless to have a sentence of *civil death* pronounc'd against him, viz. the loss of so fair and noble an Estate as any in the West of *England*, by the mischievous practice of a *Member* of the House, who, as I heard, profess'd most friendship unto him; But was there no more care to observe Articles of Warre which is held a sacred thing among Pagans and Infidels? The *Turk* and *Tartar* in this point will keep faith with the *Sword* as well as with the *Cimiter*, with the *Hat* as well as with the *Turban* or *Shash*.

*Philanglus.*

Herein a difference may be say'd to have bin 'twixt *Generalls*, for the *Presbyterian* *Generalls* did not much care how their Articles were broke or kept; but his Highness who is now Lord *Protector*, was very carefull for the observation of what *Articles* he made, and clash'd about it more than once with the *Parlement*.

*Polyander.*

Truly Sir, you have related many horrid things, which might make the word *Parlement* merit the same fate that befell *Tyrant*, or *Sophister*, and other words, which were good at their first institution, but afterwards came to be odious and reproachful, and will continue so to the Worlds end. But 'tis much that the *Parlement* which shold be the great *Physician* of the Commonwealth shold becom such a *Mountebank* and *Quack*, that in lieu of making up the ruptures 'twixt King and Peeple, and stopping the *Leaks* in the great *Vessel* of the *States*, they shold cause more; that like *Banbury* Tinkers in lieu of stopping one hole they shold make two.

There is a saying, that *Infœliciter agrotat cui plus mali venit à medico quam à morbo*; That Patient is in a sad case, who receives more hurt from the *Physician* than from the Disease, more mischief from the remedy than from the malady; 'tis better for one to endure a little head-ach, than to have his pate broken.

*Philanglus.*

I could produce hundreds of Instances more, what monstrous irregularities, and palpable oppressions of all kinds were committed by the late *long* *Parlement*, but that they

they bear no proportion with this small volume ; yet I cannot omit to acquaint you with one one or two more, which are able to transform a man to wonder ; One of the *members* of the House (whose Father had rise by the Court) having spoken som flighting and high trefonable words of the King, & his Issue, was therupon committed, but he was enlarg'd again with great applaude, and came afterward to be such a Minion of the House, that he had in two several Grants 1000 *l.* lands a yeer of good Inheritance conferr'd upon him, which lands are thought to be worth twice as much in tru value ; Now, though the said *Member* had many crying, and clamorous debts, wherof som wer complain'd of to the House, yet ther was a clause in the said Grants that the said lands which the Parlement of *England* had pass'd over to the said *Member* shold be exempt, and free from all kind of *Statuts, Executions, Judgments, Recognizances, Book debts*, or any other encombrance of what nature soever ; Since that time, the said *Member* being a prisoner in the Upper Bench lives, and Lords it there in a high plentiful manner upon the foresaid lands, while som of the Creditors are ready to starve for hunger.

*Polyander.*

This is a sad story, wherunto I shold  
hardly

hardly give credit, unless I had it from so good a hand as your; For what a horrid thing was it, that those who pretended to be *Legum latroes*, should prove such notorious *legum violatores*, and in so high a manner?

*Philanglus.*

The other Instance is of the *Farmers* of the Custom House, which was thus; The foresaid Long Parliament, after they had sat a few months, fell into strange distempers, and insolencies, their chiefest scope being (after the *Church*) to pull down, at least to prune, and pare close the *Prerogative Royal*, but wanting money to drive on the work they had cut out, they questioned all Officers wher they smelt wealth, specially the Farmers of the Custom House, for intermeddling with the Customs, and Imposts, pretending it was contrary to law, though never any Farmers were punish'd, or questioned in *England* in that kind before, since the world began, but divers had receav'd the said Customs by way of Contract, with the Sovereign Prince in like manner, nor was it possible indeed for any King of *England* to subsist, or protect and govern his people without them, they being for many Ages so *habitually* inherent in the Crown.

But the present Farmers finding the pulse of the Members to beat so high, and that it began to be a crime in that time to be rich, being also *threatned* with sequestrations if they did not conform, they thought it unsafe to dispute the merit of the cause, though *revera* there was no material positive law at all, no not any the least precedent to prohibit the farming, and receiving the said Customs, and 'tis a rule yea even among the wild *Arabs*, *Wher ther is no law ther can be no transgression*; yet the Farmers advis'd, and call'd by som of the chief Members themselves, and encourag'd by *Him* who first started the business in the Parlement, that if they complied with the pleasure of the House in this point, they shold be be sure to have satisfaction for the great arrears the King owed them, I say they suddenly submitted to a Composition of *One hundred and sixty five thousand pounds*, besides other sums challeng'd before *tertia Caroli* upon the like score (whe with divers particular leading Members did finely lick their fingers) *One hundred and fifty thousand pounds* of this was charg'd upon those that wer call'd the Old Farmers, *viz.* Sir Paul Pindar, Sir John Jacob, and his Father, Sir John Worstenholm, and Sir Abraham Daws, though the three last wer quiet in  
their

their graves; yet the *long* Parlement knock'd at their tombs, and made them pay to the utmost peny; but of what dangerous consequence it is to invent a fine for dead mens faults let the world judge; The other fifteen thousand pounds was charg'd upon the Farmers then in being, *viz.* Sir *John Jacob*, Sir *Thomas Daws*, Sir *Job Harvey*, Sir *Nicolas Crisp*, and Sir *John Nulls*, unto whom by new proposition of Contract for four years, were to be joyn'd Sir *Paul Pindar*, Sir *John Harrison*, the Lord *Goring*; But the next day that the Composition was reported to the House, the said Contract was voted void, all the Assignments upon the said rents were made null, and the Customs were to be diverted to another chanel, *viz.* to such uses as the Parlement shold please.

Then the King being unfortunately *rab- bled* away from his Court at *Westminster* by the rissraff of the City, the Parlement conniving at it, they commanded still the same Farmers to continue the receaving of the Customs, though point blank against the law passed before by themselves, wherby the penalty was a *Premunire* at least, for receaving the Customs without a law, so they were authoriz'd, and commanded to commit the same transgression, and by the same

same men who had so severely punish'd them for it a little before: Thus even Crimes themselves have their seasons, and times of favor.

The said (extorted) Composition amounting to half a million by the common account of current money abroad, was payed in the compass of two months, and then the Parlement encourag'd and caress'd the Farmers as their white boys with all the assurance that could be that they wold take into due consideration the Gran debt the King owed them, which amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and was lent before the *long* Parlement began, for which they had Forrest lands for their security, but from that day to this they never had peny satisfaction, nor have they now either Heir, Executor, or Administrator, for that vast sum, (a sum able to make twenty *Aldermen*) It being dre from *Him* whose life the Parlement took away, and whose goods they sold to their own advantage, but what double dealing, and base cheats were used in the sale of his goods 'tis impossible to imagine greater.

Thus those gallant weighty Men whose credit was countervailable to a *public bank*, and held then as good as the *Chamber of London*,

*London*, were left not only to the loss of liberty, but to the hazard of that immortal shame of *Bankrupts* for those debts which that long Parliament ha engag'd it self to satisfie; Persons that were so great an Ornament to the City and State, for so the *Roman* Orator calls the Collectors of the public Trefure, *Civitatis Ornamentum, Reipublica firmamentum, Equitum primores qui publicanorum ordine continentur* (as a worthy Knight doth observe) though som in the House went about to belpatter them.

This hard dealing made so deep impressions upon Sir *Paul Pindar* though a solid wise Knight (who had don so many *unknown*, as well as *public* great deeds of charity and piety) that it shortned his days; Sir *John Jacob* a person of choice breeding, and extraordinary worth, suffer'd in his estate *vis & modis* nere upon a hundred thousand pounds, he being the *Customer of London*, (the only legal, and ancient Office,) being also Collector of the pratermitted Customs, and of the Impost of Tobacco, which Office he had for two lifes; At the beginning of the long Parliament he had by deicent and acquisition at least 3000 *l. per annum* good rent,



rent, which is now mouldred, or rather melted away by the heat of persecution to 600 *l.* and that 600 *l.* also must go to secure the late Composition with the rigid Creditors, notwithstanding that it may be call'd the only plank wheron he, and *nine children* are cast ashore after the shipwreck of so fair a fortune.

What a great sufferer hereby hath Sir *Nicolas Crisp* bin, so well spirited, and discrete a person, who hath so well deserv'd of his Countrey by enriching it with so much *African* gold, by the truck and vent of *English* Commodities of so small value, as also by many other useful Inventions; Sir *Job Harvey* with others may be said to be utterly ruin'd hereby, being proceeded against by merciless Creditors, who have fallen with all violences upon them even to the Statuts of Bankrupts, intended for knaves, cheaters, and rogues, which among all Nations but this wold admit of equity; Nor under favor doth it become the *Pepper men* of the *East India* Company to prosecute such worthy men with so much rigor, and inhumanity; they shold rather remember the brocage of their own advantage, when they made that huge bargain for themselves with the  
King,

King: They might also call to mind how many have suffer'd by them hertofore in point of account, and that it may be the case of som of themselves another day.

I have insisted the longer upon this relation, because it concerns so many worthy known Gentlemen, who wer destroyed by the Public Faith, and none-performances of the promises of the *long* Parliament; And by a law which never had any being, for no law can speak until it be born, nor doth tru Justice ever use to punish any Action, elder then the Law. Therefore ther's no doubt but his Highness will take into his Noble consideration the condition of these worthy Gentlemen in his good time; Now, for a Corollary to this Paragraph; I will add this notable passage which reflected also upon the Farmers.

The *long* Parleмент having intercepted a Letter from Mrs *Seymer*, one of her Majesties chief Maid of Honor then at *Oxford*, written to Sir *Paul Pindar* for the interest of 5000 *l.* in the Farmers hands, she was the next morning made a Delinquent, and the Farmers then here wer summon'd to pay this 5000 *l.* presently to the House,  
they

they humbly desire the bond, Answer was made that an Ordinance of Parleмент shold secure *Them* against that bond; they disputed it a while with all civility, but the House threatning them, and having made a Sequestration of their Estates, to that purpose, they submitted at last to pay it in; upon which the sequestration was taken off; the honorable young gentlewoman being return'd to *London*, demand- ed her money, as she had good reason to do, and sued the Farmers in Chancery, where she recovered most of her money, and the Farmers never had peny satisfac- tion from the Parleмент to this day.

*Polyander.*

Is it possible that those men who pre- tended so much to Religion, and conscience shold do such hideous things?

*Philanglus.*

Yes, yet ther breaths not a Soul *Inter- quatuor maria* twixt *Great Britains* four Seas, who hath a more venerable opinion of *Parlements* than I, having had the honor to have bin a good while a small part there- of; They wer us'd to be the bulwark of our liberties, the main banks and boundarits which kept us from slavery, from the inundation of *Ar-bitrary Rule*, and unbounded *Will-Government*; This high superintendent Court at its first

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Constitution was us'd to be compar'd to the *Macrocosm* the Great world it self, The *Soverain Magistrat* was compar'd to the *Sun*, the *Nobles* to the fixed *Stars*, the *Judges*, and other Officers who went with Messages 'twixt both Houses, to the *Planets*, The *Clergy* to the Element of *Fire*, The *Commons* to the solid Mass of *Earth*; And as the Heavenly bodies when three of them meet in Conjunction, use to produce som admirable effects in the Great world, so when the *three States* did use to convene and assemble in one solemn great *Junta*, som notable and extraordinary things wer us'd to be brought forth tending to the welfare of the whole Kingdom.

Now, ther wer three Essential properties that belong'd to Parlemt, viz. *Fairness of Election, fulness of members, and freedom of speech*; 'Tis two well known how little of all these three were found in the late long Parlemt, specially of the last, to wit, *liberty of speech*. For none was permitted to speak unless he spoke still to the *sense of the House, to the sense of the House*, which was a pure restraint, and a sealing up of ones mouth; what a deal of time was spent in banding of answers, in Remonstrances, in replies, rejoinders, and descanting upon words? so that the first 16 months wer spent meerly in  
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chopping Logic with the King, and nothing at all don; For *fulness of Members*, they wer purg'd at last very low, so that ther was scare the tenth part of what they shold have been in number. The King offer'd to give them but a little purge of five or six Drams, but it was furiously cast away because ther was too much *Basilicon* in it, Then ther was a purge of *eleven* drams given them, wher in ther was som *unguentum Armarium* that cures a far off, which made som of them to fly t'other side of the Sea, wher one *Member* as soon as he put foot on shore, fell sick of the Plague, and so was buried no better than in the Town-ditch in *Calais*, because he had first infected the place; But at last they had a good sound Purge as big as a *drench* administred them, which Purg'd away above a hundred Members at once, and by *Pride* they wer tumbled down into *Hell*, yet all this wold not do, for som Members wer grown so corrupt and putrid, that nothing cold cure the House but an utter *Dissolution*; according to the old saying,

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*Immedicabile vulnus*

*Ense recidendum* —————

Which great Dissolution was made *without the shedding of one tear, or drop of blood*, as  
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the *Portugal* Ambassador sent word to *Lisbon*; for *England* had been long weary of her *Physicians*, who had they continued longer, might have made her say as *Alexander* the Great did on his death-bed, *Perii turba Medicorum*, I die of too many Physicians.

*Polyander.*

Touching fulness of *Members* I heard it censur'd by some Critics beyond the Seas, for a Solæcism in the *English* Government that they are so many, but specially that the *Burgesses* should exceed the *Knights*; you know *Trop gran nombre est encombre*, Too great a number ushers in nothing but confusion, encombrances, and noise, which oftentimes was so extremely loud and obstreperous among them, that as I was told they were heard at *Lambeth*, there could not be a greater among the Oyster-women at *Billings-Gate*. Now Sir, there may be Tyranny in *One*, in a *Few*, and in *many*; In *one*, as in the Great *Turk*, (and indeed all the Eastern Emperors) who with his breath alone, without any legal process, can take any ones life away; and is sole Proprietor of the whole Countrey, In so much that the best man in *Turky* cannot leave one foot of land as an Inheritance to his Son, but it reverts to the Gran Signor.

Secondly, There may be Tyranny in *few*, as in the thirty men of *Athens*, or in some Privy Council of State, &c.

Lastly,

Lastly, ther may be Tyranny in *many*, as in  
 som General great Convention or popular  
 Assembly, and this is the worst of all, it being  
 a Rule, that *Plebs est pessimus Tyrannus*, the  
 people is the worst of Tyrants.

*Philanglus.*

The late *long* Parleмент degenerated to  
 such a one, wherof thousands of instances  
 might be produc'd, Let this one serve at  
 present; The Army had occasion to make  
 their addresse to the House, upon a busi-  
 nesse of a just and general concernment;  
 But the Grandees of the House answer'd,  
*That if they shold read those demands; they*  
*might chance to find them of that nature, as*  
*they could not with justice deny them, nor with*  
*honor grant them, &c.* But herin they shew'd  
 themselves but poor Polititians, for you  
 know, It is a tru Rule ——— *Arma tenentis*  
*Omnia dat, qui justa negat.* And was it not  
 time then for the Army to think of dismissing  
 their Memberships? But the truth is, that  
 if you go to the right rule of Parleмент,  
 they had dissolv'd themselves, I cannot tell  
 how often before, for besides that the Ori-  
 ginal Writ from whence they deriv'd their  
 power was void by the Kings death, how  
 often did they rise up in confusion without  
 adjourning the House? how oft did they  
 sit without a Speaker, He being fled to

the Army? How many hundred ways did they break their own privileges? what things did they do which they voted should not serve for Precedents hereafter? as *Strafords* death, and sitting on Sunday, &c. How many Bills were resum'd being 'twice ejected out of the House of Peers? as those against *Bishops*, and touching the *Militia*? &c. yet were they taken into debate again the same *Session*, which is point blank against the very fundamentals of Parlelament; How many thousand Petitions (som whereof were recommended by the Lords) lay mouldring in corners, and were never as much as read in the House? And was it not high time think you to quell this *Monster*? or rather to pull down this *Idol*? truly this great prudential Act of shutting up that *House*, and the barring up of that cold Postern door in the *North*, may well take place among those many mighty things his *Highness* had don.

*Polyander.*

They are mighty things indeed, and they are marvailous in our eyes; Nor do these *Iles* only, but every corner of the habitable Earth ring thereof; nay the Sea swells high with the breath of them; *England* may be said to be hertofore like an animal that knew nor her own strength, She is now better



better acquainted with her self, for in point of *power* and *treasure* she did never appear so high both at home and abroad, by Sea and Land, as you said before; This made *France* to cringe unto her so much; This made *Spain* to offer her peace with *Indian* Paracoons upon any terms; This makes the *Hollander* to dash his Colours, and vail his Bonnet so low unto Her; This makes the *Italian* Princes, and all other States that have any thing to do with the *Sea* to court her so much, Though the Emperor, and the *Mediterranean* Princes of *Germany*, whom she cannot reach from her Port-holes, care not much for her.

Now, Sir, among those many Heroik and difficult exploits of divers kinds which his Highness hath perform'd, there is one Act (humbly under favour) may well become the greatnesse of his spirit, It is to reach a timely hand for preserving the stately Temple of *Pauls* from tumbling down, and from being *buried* in her own *rubbish*; A Temple which hath above a thousand yeers tugg'd with the fury of the Elements, and the Iron teeth of *Time*, The goodliest pile of stones in the World, take all *dimensions* together.

*Polyander.*

'Tis also the greatest and most visible ornament of this renowned City, who would look bald, and as it were Crest-faln without Her; A Temple that hath this singularity above all others, as to be founded upon *Faith*, having a spacious Church of that *name* underneath to serve and support Her; I remember it was observ'd how in that disastrous expedition to the Isle of *Rh*, the great stones which were design'd to repair *Pauls*, were carryed away to make ballast for Ships, and for other warlike uses in that service, which made some judicious Critiques of those times to foretell the unlucky and inglorious return we made thence. Some giddy headed Puritan in reading this will presently shoot his bolt, and cry out, that I have a Pope in my belly, but you know my *Intellectuals* better.

*Philanglus.*

I know well Sir, your principles are otherwise; but I concur with you in opinion, that it would be a very glorious thing to achieve such a work, and one months Tax or two would do it, or if his Highness would give way, that a generall contribution might be made to that purpose; Other vast sums are daily spent, but little  
or

or nothing appears of them afterwards in point of effect, Those moneys that would be employ'd in this, will leave something behind them, *viz.* a glorious visible Monument to all posterity, which will make after ages to blesse these times.

*Polyander.*

Such a Monument would suit well with the grandeur of his Highness, whom all Nations cry up for the *Hero* of the times, and a speciall Instrument design'd for great Actions; He would gain the applause of millions of souls hereby both at home and abroad, where I have heard divers, who are far from thinking any *inherent* holiness to lodge in stones or inanimate things, I say I have heard divers of the reformed Churches, sadly complain, that *Pauls* in the case it is, is the ruthfullest spectacle upon earth.

But now Sir, I take leave to give you serious thanks for the elaborat relation you have been pleas'd to make me of the proceedings of that long Parlemt, which in lieu of redressing grievances, became it self at last the greatest grievance. As also of the practice and modesty of Parlements in former times, who declin'd high affairs of *State*, specially *forren*, much more to arrogat to themselves the *supreme* power;  
for

for *Soverainity* may be said to be an indivisible ray deriv'd and darted from the *Divine* Majesty it self; it cannot be divided among a multitude; we never read that the people were call'd *Gods*, or the *Lords*, *appointed*, or *nursing Fathers*, nor do we read of any *Aristocracies*, *Oligarchies*, or *Democracies* at all in the holy Scriptures. Therefore I ascribe to his judgment who holds that the firmest and most *compendious* way of Government is when the supremacy resides in one person, whom the people ought to trust by an indispensable necessity for their own advantage, in steering the great Vessel of the Common-wealth, with the advice of a select *Councell*; And herein a state may be compar'd to a *Gally*, wherein some are to observe the *Compass*, others to furl the *Sayls*, others to handle the *ropes*, others to tug at the *Oar*, others to be ready in *arms*, yet there is but one *Pilot* to sit at the Helm. It is requisite also that this single person should be attended with a standing visible veteran Army to be *payd* well, and *punish'd* well if there be cause, to *awe* as well as to *secure* the people, It being the greatest solœcism that can be in Government to depend meerly upon the affections of the *people*, for there is not such a wavering windy thing, not such an humorfom and cross-grain'd Animal in the World as the

the *Common people*; And what Authors soever either *Greek* or *Latin* have pretended to policy, affirm so much in their writings. There be divers modern Sciolists, that busie their brains to prescribe Rules of Government, but they involve the Reader in *universals*, or rather bring him to a labyrinth of distinctions, whereby they make the *Art of Mastring man* to be more difficult, and distracted, than it is in it self.

*Philanglus.*

SIR,

Touching the account you speak of, that I have endeavor'd to render of the traverses that happen'd for matter of fact during the Reign of the *Long Parliament*, I have given you but cursory short touches; There wold be subject enough for so many Tomes as would make a Library of it self, if one should relate all; But for Inferences and conclusions in point of Judgment, which may be drawn out of what hath bin said already, I leave that to be done in the closet of every ones privat Conscience, who with an impartiall eye shall pry into these *Inspection*s.

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## AN ADVERTISEMENT.

**L** Et the discerning Reader be pleas'd to know, that, whereas in the foregoing Conference, there are some free touches, at divers things happen'd in the late long Parliament, What is spoken that way, is spoken with this Restrictive Rule of the Logician: *Non de singulis Generum, sed de Generibus singulorum*: It is well known, there sate there as prudentiall, and well-temper'd men as *England* affords, whose chieft aim was the Common good: The former Discourse is far from meaning such noble Patriots, but only Those who having tasted the sweetnesse of Authority, (and Authority is sweet though it be among the Devils, as the Spaniard saith) thought to immortalize that Session, and make themselves perpetual Dictators.

— Parlate M<sup>re</sup> Dia.

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FINIS.

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